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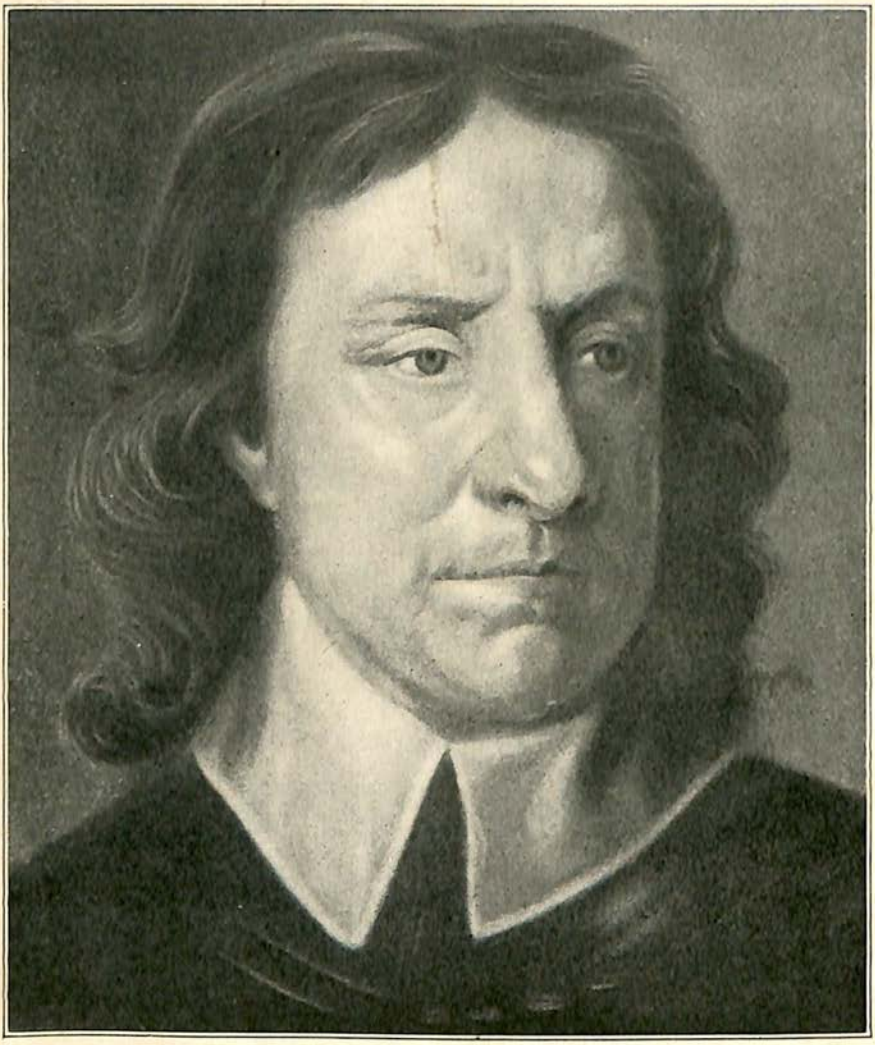

OLIVER CROMWELL.

Panel by Samuel Cooper at Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge.

THE
EXPANSION OF EUROPE

A HISTORY OF THE FOUNDATIONS OF THE MODERN WORLD

BY

WILBUR CORTEZ ABBOTT, B.LITT.(OXON.), M.A.

Professor of History in Yale University

WITH MAPS AND ILLUSTRATIONS

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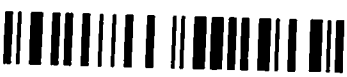

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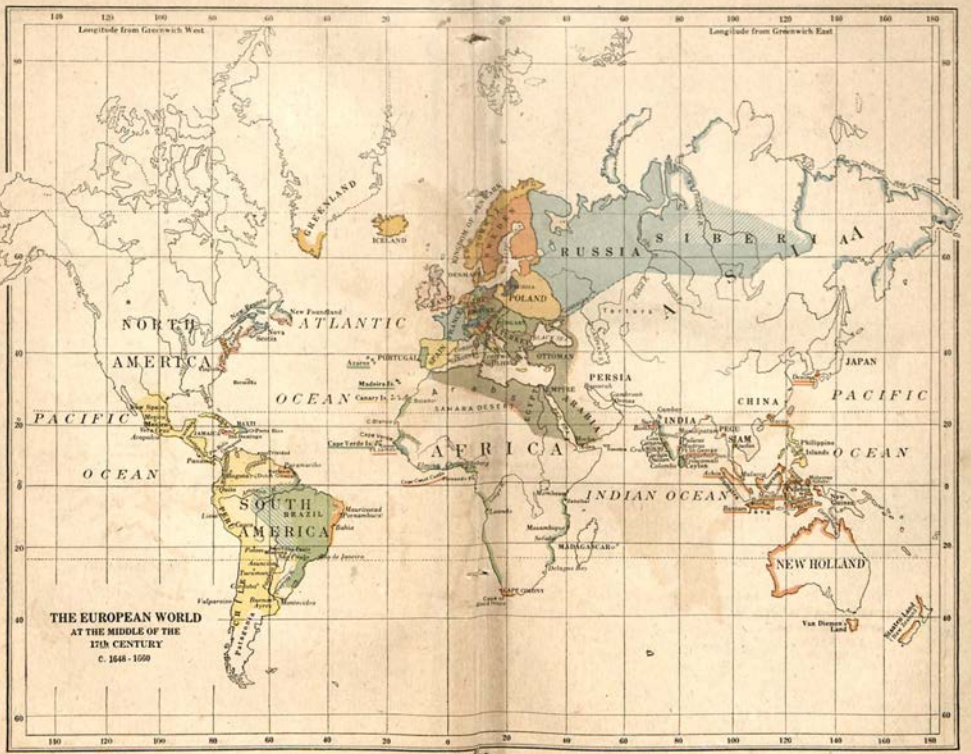
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CHAPTER XXIII

THE AGE OF CROMWELL. 1642-1660

WHEN in the last months of 1648 was signed the great peace which brought to an end the Thirty Years' War and with it the mediæval polity which it finally destroyed; as the army of diplomats whose work it was dispersed to their respective governments, the awe-inspiring mass of documents which formed the fruit of their long labors might have led men to believe that Europe would hasten to enjoy the peace which she so needed and which her people for the most part so greatly desired. But whatever hopes of quiet were entertained, were already far on the way to disappointment; for the Europe to which the diplomats returned was even then altered or altering before their eyes and already shaping itself for new conflict. Scarcely a state of any consequence prepared to recruit its resources by the arts of peace; scarcely a royal house but faced a crisis in its fortunes; scarcely a people but was stirring in unrest or already engaged in revolution. So far from ushering in a period of peaceful progress the Westphalian treaties became the starting point for new and bloody rivalries.

Germany

In Germany itself, so long afflicted with the horrors of a war that depopulated whole districts and dealt a blow to her resources and prosperity which, augmented by later conflicts, weakened her position for two centuries, almost the last vestige of central authority had disappeared. The imperial power, with all its tradition of form and precedence, remained but an empty symbol of unity over the four hundred and more sovereign states and free cities among which the lands between the Rhine and the Oder were divided. The house of Hapsburg, still the strongest of central European dynasties—by virtue of its own personal dominions rather than by any

support it commanded from the states of the Empire or its hold on the imperial dignity—clung to its slight suzerainty over Germany, but found its solid compensations in its struggle with the Turks for the Balkan lands.

The German states

Among the German states which eluded its sovereignty, four, Saxony, Brandenburg, Bavaria, and the Palatinate, remained of importance in the European world. Among these the first two had already sought expansion in the east, where Prussia and Poland offered them their opportunity. The principle of primogeniture, spreading from house to house, assured, indeed, a check on further extension of that subdivision which had done so much to bring Germany to infinite and absurd partition. But with their slender patrimonies the petty sovereigns held the more zealously to every prerogative of independence and absolutism. For there was as little tendency among them to increase the shadowy authority of Emperor or Diet as to share their rule with their own subjects. Imperial Chamber, Aulic Council, and the local divisions of the so-called Circles, which might otherwise have become the nucleus of a united Germany, remained as impotent as the dreams of liberty which were being roused by events outside the heart of Europe, as the last of the great religious wars came to an end.

The northern powers

The states of the north and east were in no better case than their Teutonic kinsmen. Under the guiding genius of Gustavus and Oxenstierna, Sweden had risen with unexampled rapidity to the position of a first-rate European power. But there were already signs of the decline of the Vasa supremacy in the Baltic regions. Scarcely had Oxenstierna brought the fruits of his diplomacy from Osnabrück when he fell in disgrace with his brilliant, erratic queen Christina, whose extravagances of conduct and expenditure then threatened the fortunes of her crown, her country, and her house. Denmark, which might have taken advantage of her old rival, was held back by the death of Christian IV, which threw the state into the hands of a triumphant aristocracy whose rule soon brought the nation close to civil war. Russia, meanwhile, under the sway of Alexis, son of that Michael Romanoff

who had established his dynasty in the preceding generation on the throne of Muscovy, was in a similar situation. Harassed by popular risings and disturbances engendered 1654-6
by reform of the Russian church liturgy which was destined to have far-reaching consequences, no less than by the restless ambitions of the Cossacks in the south, the Czar was driven to recognize the increasing power of the boyars or nobles in affairs of state. Amid these distractions he found little opportunity for foreign enterprise; and at the very moment of the peace, in which, though he took no direct share, he was involved by his alliances, he was confronted simultaneously by a revolt in his capital and a Cossack insurrection.

This owed its importance to the fact that it was the last serious attempt for two centuries or more to found another eastern European state, and its strength to the ambitions and ability of its leader, Bogdan Khmelnitzki. Aided by their old enemies, the Tartar Khans, the wild steppe horsemen 1648-9
shook the unstable Polish monarchy to its base. And their final enforced acceptance of the Russian suzerainty, when their fierce attack broke on the resistance of the Polish chivalry, laid the foundations for the next advance of Muscovy toward the shores of the long-coveted Black Sea, and marked another stage in the ascendancy of Russia over Poland.

The Cossack revolt

The latter state was ill-prepared, indeed, to exercise her old authority over her far-flung, loosely woven provinces. Her new ruler, the Cardinal John Casimir Vasa, who came Poland
to power as the peace was being signed, found himself confronted not alone by Cossack rebels. Of scarcely less import was the schism between the Polish Roman Catholics and his Lithuanian subjects of the Greek communion. This was fraught with the more danger in that his Russian neighbors championed the cause of the Eastern Church. More threatening still was the claim of the turbulent Polish aristocracy to rights of confederation even against the crown itself. When this disintegrating process reached its culmination in the acceptance of that masterpiece of political fatuity, the "*liberum veto*" by which a single vote could block the action of the Diet, the state found itself close to anarchy. In the

Polish situation appeared the climax of that general tendency of the eastern states toward allowing political power to slip from the hands of the crown to those of a lower class, which, in far different form, was the characteristic as well of the western states in this momentous period. In this era of disorganization, the Muscovite and the Turk were held back from enlarging their territories at Polish expense by their own difficulties at home, and this alone preserved the declining power of Poland from the effects of the political weakness which Swedish attack was shortly to reveal.

Western Europe

Under far different circumstances yet characterized by not dissimilar spirit, the western powers faced the outcome of the peace. Italy, divided still between the petty sovereignties, the Papacy, and the conflicting claims of foreign powers, endured, save for Venetian conflicts with the Turk over Crete, a brief interval of respite from hostilities. Meanwhile Savoy found fresh occasion to pursue that tortuous and adroit policy by which she had already begun to eat up the peninsula "as a man eats an artichoke, leaf by leaf." Only in the Spanish dominions there burst forth unparalleled disturbance. There, ten bloody days of insurrection brought the Amalfi fisherman, Masaniello, for the moment, into power, and his brief, tragic career was the wonder of western Europe in the year before the peace, as that of Khmelnitzki was soon to be to the east.

1647

The Fronde 1648-53

Of the greater western states Spain, shaken by the loss of Portugal, weakened and discredited by the great war, was compelled to recognize the independence of the Netherlands, yet, bankrupt in credit and resources, she still maintained her conflict with France, aided by the strangest circumstance in the long history of her ancient enemy. Against the French government, now in the hands of the Queen Dowager and the chief minister, the Cardinal Mazarin, began that amazing struggle known as the Fronde. Involved in an infinity of intrigue, the French nobility, even great generals like Condé and Turenne, gave themselves over to a nightmare of political and personal rivalries, a labyrinthine maze of plot and counterplot, whence reason and policy alike seemed to have

fled. Now fighting, now allied with their own government, with Spain, England, the Netherlands, and among themselves, it was a full dozen years before the discordant elements of French politics subsided again to an orderly and rational progress.

England

Yet with all this series of disturbances throughout the continent—aristocratic revolutions among the northern and eastern powers, Cossack insurrection, Neapolitan rising, and French civil war—England still remained the center of European interest. Beside the events in the British Isles, noble revolts and popular disturbance paled to insignificance. Above Khmelnitzki and Masaniello and Condé towered the heroic figure of the English Cromwell. In the six years that had elapsed since that stormy August day when the English king had set up his standard at Nottingham and summoned the forces of the crown against his Parliament, the royal power had sunk lower with successive misfortunes. The king himself was now a prisoner, his children exiles, his army destroyed, his followers proscribed, his enemies in the ascendant. At the moment of the peace events took another and decisive turn. The king's negotiations with the Presbyterian Parliament roused the resentment of the army, which had fallen into the hands of the sect of Independents that had grown rapidly in the course of the conflict. By order of the army leaders Parliament had been purged of the offending Presbyterians. Now the remnant or Rump composed of the more advanced Independents, despairing of accommodation with a monarch they had long ceased to trust and whom they felt it was impossible to bind by constitutional guarantees, established a High Court of Justice, by which the king was tried and convicted of high treason to the nation. The continent had scarcely received the news of the signing of the great peace, its signers had scarcely reported to their governments the results of their deliberations, when all Europe was shocked by the execution of the English king.

Jan. 30 1649

The execution of Charles I

It was an event in European history of no less significance than the peace itself. In many respects it was of even more profound and far-reaching importance. Whatever the ulti-

mate merits of the case and its more technical illegalities, the fact remained that, in the face of the doctrine that monarchs ruled by divine right and were responsible to God alone, a popular party in the English state had raised an army, conquered its numerous enemies by virtue of its courage, discipline, and its leader's unrivaled military skill; overthrown the royal power; and, for the first time in European history, brought an anointed king to the executioner's block as if he were a common mortal. It was a portent whose significance was not lost upon the world at large. Whatever crimes were committed in the name of liberty, whatever reaction even then prepared against popular government on the continent, no single circumstance for generations so profoundly evidenced the wakening of new forces in political affairs as this. As the figure of the English revolutionary leader, Oliver Cromwell, rose from the welter of civil war to European view, it was apparent that there was a new force in the world to be reckoned thenceforth in all the calculations of those individuals and classes in whose hands political power had rested for centuries. For the headsman's ax became the entering wedge of democracy.

In the confused decade which followed the Peace of Westphalia the fortunes of Europe and her oversea possessions took color from the great events which had accompanied the conclusion of the great religious war. The generation of rulers chiefly concerned in that conflict had already passed. Denmark and Poland, Russia and England were not alone in feeling new hands upon the reins of government. The brief
1647-50 eventful rule of William II over the Netherlands had witnessed his attempt to centralize the power of the state in his own person, and put an end to the disunion which threatened the state. His untimely death demolished his projects and Holland became, in fact and name, the Republic of the United Netherlands. The long and important reign of the Great
1640-88 Elector, Frederick William of Brandenburg, was already shaping those astute and far-sighted policies which were to lay the foundations of the kingdom of Prussia. The
1643- boy, Louis XIV, under the tutelage of his mother, Anne

of Austria, and Mazarin, was busy learning those lessons of governance which were to bear such fruit of war and diplomacy in the next generation. And two years after the peace there was born one who was to be his great antagonist, William of Orange. In his hands were to be 1650
gathered up so many of the threads then being spun. By him the triumph of the house of Nassau over its republican rivals was finally to be achieved, the overweening power of France checked, and the success of parliamentary government in England secured.

The North and East

Yet for the moment, save for the re-entry of England into continental affairs as Cromwell rose to supreme authority, there was little in the events of the dozen years which intervened between the peace and the almost simultaneous accession of Louis XIV to the French throne and the summons which brought his cousin Charles II back to England, that did not grow from the ancient rivalries. Into the confused struggle among the northern powers the slow, sure ambitions of the Great Elector insinuated the potent factor of Brandenburg's increasing influence. But Sweden remained none the less the dominant factor in that quarter of the European world. Six years after the peace the brilliant, erratic Christina surrendered the throne to her cousin, Charles X, who, denied the recognition of his title by his relative, John Casimir, followed the example of his uncle, Gustavus, invaded the continent, fell upon Poland, and precipitated the so-called Northern War.

Against him the Baltic powers combined with the Emperor to break the Swedish ascendancy once and for all. Through six years the brilliant generalship and fighting qualities of the Swedes maintained the unequal conflict, not without success, until the king's untimely death compelled them to the Peace of Oliva and Kardis. From that peace, thanks to his well-timed changes of front, the shrewd Elector of Brandenburg emerged the chief gainer, as the recognition of his sovereignty of the Duchy of Prussia by all the contending powers brought the house of Hohenzollern a long step nearer its ultimate goal. This, with the surrender of the southern

The Peace of Oliva and Kardis 1660-1

Peace of Copenhagen 1660

part of the Scandinavian peninsula by Denmark to Sweden, remained the tangible results of the fierce conflict, which left the question of Baltic supremacy still far from its final settlement, while it added new and powerful factors to the problem of the mastery of the north.

The Franco-Spanish War

Meanwhile the other side of the continent was no less disturbed by the continuation of the Franco-Spanish war which had survived the general pacification of Münster and Osnabrück. The five-year fantasy of the Fronde was concluded by the triumph of Mazarin and the Queen Regent. Despite the enlistment of the great Condé in Spanish service, the support of the Huguenots, and the assistance of Cromwell, France slowly gained ground. Following the decisive victory

1658

of the Battle of the Dunes, and the consequent advance of French forces on Brussels which threatened to give the Netherlands into their hands, Spain was deprived of the aid of the new Emperor, Leopold I. The adroit diplomacy of Mazarin made an ally of Cromwell, and forced her to the

The Peace of the Pyrenees 1659

unfavorable Peace of the Pyrenees. By this treaty,—which, as the pendant to that of Westphalia, supplemented and concluded the settlement of western Europe for the time,—the French borders were rounded out by parts of Flanders, Hainault, and Luxembourg on the north and east, and secured by the dismantling of the fortresses of Lorraine and the acquisition of Roussillon. Alsace, abandoned by Spain, was left defenseless to French ambitions, and Portugal in turn was abandoned by France to the vengeance of the Spaniards. With these adjustments and the marriage of Louis XIV to the daughter of Philip IV of Spain, prophetic of future conflict, the affairs of the west reached a momentary equilibrium at almost the same moment that the balance of power was adjusted in the north and east. And, as a symbol of the altering times, Mazarin was replaced as head of French

1661

affairs by the young prince who as Louis XIV was to dominate the politics and the imagination of western Europe for the next half century.

The Puritans

The success of France and the discomfiture of Spain had not been wholly due either to the diplomacy of Mazarin or

to the total incapacity of his Spanish antagonists. The final decisive Battle of the Dunes had brought into high relief another and determining element in the affairs of Europe, and one that had been scarcely felt for two generations. When at the crisis of the battle the French commander launched the corps of heavy English cavalry, the so-called Ironsides lent his master by Cromwell, the thunder of their triumphant charge and no less the swelling chorus of the psalm which prefaced their attack, gave evidence of a new and strange element in the world of war and politics. Last heirs of the long enmity which since the accession of Elizabeth a hundred years before had thrown a great section of the English people into irreconcilable opposition to the champion of the Inquisition, the Puritans, now the controlling factor in English affairs, struck the last blow against the old supremacy of Spain as their Elizabethan progenitors had been the first to challenge it.

Their rise and membership

They were fit representatives of the power which had loaned them to France. In the ten years which followed the Peace of Westphalia and the execution of Charles I, England had undergone a transformation in her fortunes and her policy beside which the other changes in European affairs seem almost insignificant. The final overthrow of the royalists and the purging of the Parliament had left the supreme authority virtually in the hands of the remodeled army whose leaders, for the most part, belonged to that sect of Independents which a decade of civil war had welded into a party. By long and victorious conflict, first with the royalists, then with the Presbyterians, there had been formed, under this Independent leadership, that political group commonly known as the Puritans. This had attracted to itself a various following by its unswerving policy of religious tolerance. It included beside the Independents the extremer elements of Protestantism, the Baptists, the millenarians or so-called Fifth Monarchists, and the newly formed sect of Quakers, combined with political enthusiasts, republicans, socialistic groups like the Diggers and the Levellers. This host of devoted enemies to the older forms of religion, politics,

and society, now prepared to attempt the construction of a new earth if not a new heaven. They were inspired by the prophecies and revelations of the Bible, whose phraseology they imitated, whose more obscure and mystical passages they inclined to translate into a guide for their own actions. Filled with a fiery fanaticism, a courage, and a calculating idealism which brooked no opposition, they had gone forth like crusaders of a new faith and practice, conquering and to conquer. It was in vain that every force of the old order, royalist and Anglican, Catholic and presently Presbyterian, the strength of Scotland, Ireland, and the sympathetic powers of the continent combined against them. Their advent, and still more their success in maintaining the position which they won and kept by the sword, became a portent of the profoundest significance in European development, a challenge which could not be ignored. For they personified militant and triumphant individualism in the two great fields of religion and politics.

Their position

It was but natural that the party which shocked every sentiment of loyalty to an established order and made compromise impossible by the execution of a king should find itself, at home, abroad, and in most of its colonies, confronted by a world of enemies. None the less it held its course, undaunted by what might have seemed to less determined or less devoted men a desperate situation. Protected from foreign interference no less by the possession of a reorganized and efficient navy than by the distracted state of the continent which left its sovereigns small inclination or opportunity for intervention, the new masters of England turned first to secure their power in the British Isles. To this task the Puritan army and its leader were more than equal. Six months after the execution of the king, Cromwell was on his way to Ireland, commissioned to put down royalist and Catholic rebellion against the usurped authority of the Parliament. Two months of vigorous effort gave into his hands the strongholds of the eastern coast, Drogheda and Wexford. Their defenders were put to the sword after the manner of the Old Testament, as a terrible warning to their fellows in arms.

Ireland 1649

Thereafter, every trace of Irish offensive strength was crushed, every spark of opposition was extinguished in blood, as the resistless army of the Commonwealth pursued its course of subjugation, till the unfortunate island and so many of its inhabitants as escaped the sword lay prostrate before its first real conquerors.

Scotland

Scotland meanwhile endured a not dissimilar but far less terrible fate. For its conquest the genius of Cromwell was again invoked by Parliament, and a twelvemonth after his victories in Ireland, the Covenanting army was routed at Dunbar. The young prince Charles, who had been crowned King of Scotland at Scone, followed by a royalist force, made one last desperate attempt to invade England, only to be crushed at Worcester. With these "crowning mercies," the fate of kingship in England was, for the moment, sealed; and Parliament addressed itself to organizing its newly-won power and to the question of foreign affairs.

1650

1651

Their reorganization

For the first time in history Ireland and Scotland had been effectively subdued and united to England almost if not quite as closely as Wales had been four centuries earlier. It remained to secure the conquest. Scotland, whose people were for the most part Protestant, and whose resistance had scarcely progressed beyond the campaigns which ended in Dunbar and Worcester, found itself, save for the presence of an English army of occupation, little changed in its relation to the English government. But the case of Ireland was far different and far worse. Her people were almost wholly Catholic; their resistance had been of the most stubborn and desperate character, fighting as they were not only for their political principles but for their faith, their homes, and their very existence. These it was determined to render not merely harmless but homeless and to secure English supremacy forever over the sister island by every means short of extermination. To that end, in three of the four great provinces of which Ireland was composed, Ulster, Munster, and Leinster, the land of the Irish was confiscated and allotted to adventurers who had advanced the money for the war, to officers and soldiers who had conquered it, and to supporters of the

Puritan régime generally. To the English and Scotch contingents which had found a foothold in the island in the preceding two generations there was thus added a new and powerful English element, which, in so far as possible, strove to make Ireland, in fact as name, a dependency of England on the same lines and by means not unlike those which were meanwhile being used in the colonization of North America.

Holland

Scarcely was the process of transplanting the Irish from their inheritance to the wilder western lands of Connaught begun, scarcely had the new landlord conquerors entered on their rich possessions, when the Parliament which had decreed the colonization of the new dependency was called on to face another and more powerful enemy. Whatever else the Puritan triumph implied, it had invoked the rising influence of the mercantile element. Whatever else the Commonwealth typified, it stood for the assertion of English commercial rights; and now that this great interest had control of affairs, a leader, and the strength to assert itself, it was not slow to settle old scores of economic rivalry.

Chief of their grievances were those against the Dutch. Amid the ruins of the Spanish-Portuguese monopoly, and the confusion and weakness which had rendered the English government all but impotent in foreign affairs for half a century, the commercial power of the Netherlands had become well-nigh supreme in every activity which was related to the sea. The Dutch ship-building interest centering in Zaandam and its neighbors had made them the chief ship-yards of the world. Amsterdam had succeeded Antwerp as the commercial and financial metropolis of those great concerns which were related to sea-going ventures and which were the chief source of wealth in Europe of that day. In the whale-fisheries of the Arctic, the cod-fishing grounds of Newfoundland, the herring-fisheries of the North Sea coasts, the Dutch had largely supplanted their rivals. Their traders had gradually absorbed the traffic of the Baltic and the north. Their adroit diplomacy had well-nigh driven the long-standing English commerce from Muscovy. It had persuaded Denmark, which held both shores of the Skagerak and the Kattegat guarding

the way into the Baltic, to relieve Dutch shipping from the so-called Sound Dues imposed on all vessels entering those waters. The Dutch colony of New Amsterdam and the Dutch conquest of Pernambuco gave Holland access to the riches of American forest and plantation. Their privateers rivaled the exploits of the Elizabethan heroes; their companies overshadowed those of their competitors in every quarter of the world. And as they had wrested Brazil from the Portuguese, so they had driven them and the English after them from any profitable share in the commerce of the East. In the Levant as in Persia, in Africa as in China and Japan, their commerce was all but supreme. Their home industries, reinforced by thousands of immigrants who brought them the arts and crafts of Europe in return for religious tolerance, made them formidable rivals in the manufacturing field. Finally their wealth, to which the whole world contributed, enabled them, through their control of ready capital, to undertake ventures difficult or impossible to their competitors. In brief, wherever Englishmen turned to exploit the resources of their own or any other country they found themselves anticipated by the Dutch.

England

England had not followed a course in the preceding two generations which enabled her to overcome this lead her rivals had attained. Though naturally the stronger power, she had been hampered by weak rulers, a feeble policy, and long-continued internal strife, and had thus struggled on with but indifferent success. It was not surprising that the Commonwealth found its chief support against the royal authority in that class which, apart from religious considerations, had been long antagonized by the opposition or the indifference of the crown to its interests. It is less surprising still that, now its opportunity had come, this class urged on its government to strike for England's share in the world's commerce.

The Navigation Act 1651

The first blow was directed against the carrying monopoly. Coincident with the triumph over the Scots was passed the so-called Navigation Act, confining English trade to English ships. It was the first move which led to a great economic

struggle, soon deepening to armed conflict, for it was evident that the Netherlands would not tamely submit to the curtailment of their hard-won commercial supremacy. Proud of their newly achieved independence, unwilling to submit to English rivalry, they were further irritated by the demand that they should expel the fugitive royalists, proscribe the house of Orange, and unite with England in a single Calvinistic state. Scarcely, therefore, had each side overthrown its dynasty, scarcely had DeWitt and Cromwell found themselves at the head of their respective commonwealths, when those commonwealths plunged into war.

1652

The Anglo-Dutch War 1652-4

In this, the first of those colonial-commercial conflicts which, following a hundred years of religio-political strife, disturbed the peace of Europe and the world for a century and a half, the Dutch, despite their great resources and their recent triumphs, were ill-prepared to compete with antagonists emerging from civil war with trained forces, skilled commanders, and the impetus of success. The conflict, as became the character of the peoples concerned, was fierce and stubborn. Transferring their land generals to the sea, the Puritans slowly made head upon that element, till beside the names of Ruyter and van Tromp were set those of Blake and Monk on the naval roll of fame. The final advantage, indeed, lay with the English. But though the peace which gave them Pularoon, with damages for Amboyna, and mutually excluded the houses of Stuart and Orange from their thrones, was on the whole favorable to their contentions, it was far from satisfying their ambitions and it was evident that it marked rather a truce than the permanent cessation of hostility.

1654

The Protectorate 1653-9

But in the very crisis of the Dutch war the chief problem which confronted the Puritan party, once their position was assured, pressed for solution. This was the form of government which should take the place of the monarchy they had overthrown. Even in the face of foreign conflict the rivalry of the Parliament and the army which had succeeded the antagonism of Independent and Presbyterian was not stilled; and, amid the chaos of contending theories and rival schools

of political thought, it seemed for a time that the Puritans were likely to lose by their tongues what they had gained by their swords. At the height of the Dutch war, just as the Fronde came to an end and released French strength for 1653
other enterprises, the issue between the officers and the feeble but persistent remnant of the Rump became acute. Unable to unloose the Gordian knot by the ordinary methods of politics, the commander of the army cut it sheer through. His soldiers turned out the Parliament, he dissolved the Council of State, established a new council, and summoned a new Parliament. The *coup d'état* left him and his officers virtually supreme. Disguised under a multitude of forms, thenceforth the English government depended on the political and military skill of the man whom circumstances and his own pre-eminent ability had brought to the first place in the revolutionary party,—the Huntingdonshire gentleman, Oliver Cromwell. His ability had chiefly directed the organization of the army upon which the ultimate success of his party depended. His generalship had largely determined the result of the decisive victories of Marston Moor and Naseby over the royalists and had conquered the Irish and the Scotch; while his firmness, character, and insight marked him inevitably for the first place in the state.

To him the new Parliament resigned its powers, and when in December, 1653, he took office as Lord Protector under the Instrument of Government, first of English, and, indeed, of European written constitutions, he became the leading figure in the European world. At home his government remained, as it had begun, with all the limitations imposed by public sentiment and formal documents, with all his own personal inclination to the contrary, little more than a revolutionary power dependent on his own unrivaled political sagacity and his generalship. The situation of the country, and the opposition to his rule, indeed, led to more drastic measures. The land was divided into ten districts each supervised by a major-general; and what was nominally a parliamentary government became to all intents and purposes a military dictatorship. It was, at best, not merely the government of

a minority, as its predecessors had been, but of a minority which hitherto had been largely excluded from political life. The result was as remarkable as it was unexpected. Among its fanatical religious elements, the ability of its leader preserved tolerance of all thought which did not concern itself too closely with politics. The Anglican establishment was suppressed, with the extremists of the other end of the religious scale, in the interests of civil peace; and, for the first time Europe beheld the spectacle of the virtual separation of church and state.

Cromwell

Extraordinary as was the position of England's domestic concerns, the change that came over her foreign situation was more remarkable and far more disturbing. For under Cromwell she attained, almost at once, a place she had not held certainly since the days of Elizabeth, scarcely since the time of Henry V. That a private gentleman should succeed to the place and more than the power of the Stuart kings was to seventeenth century minds little less than a miracle. That such a man, after half a lifetime of the pursuits of peace, should develop qualities of military leadership which put him in the front rank of the great captains of the world seemed even more incredible. But that when, brought to the head of the state by such means, he should discover a genius for statesmanship which restored England to a leading place in European politics, passed even the bounds of the miraculous; appearing to his supporters a direct evidence of the interposition of divine providence, and to his enemies arguing no less a compact with the powers of evil.

The Puritan policy

Yet with all this, Cromwell was but little versed in the real political and diplomatic forces then at work in the European world. His policy was in most respects the mere injection of Puritan ideas and ideals into a larger and an alien field. To him and to his party generally, Spain was what she had been to the England of Elizabeth, the chief champion of Catholicism against the reformed communions. With all his great ability, with all the force at his command, he pushed forward a combination of the outworn religious polity of the sixteenth century and an economic policy

directed against Holland. In this he but represented the element to which he belonged. The Puritans were the heirs of the Reformation, the representatives of the last phase of that great revolt against the Vatican. To them the antagonisms of the preceding century were still a living issue; to them the Spanish power was still what it had been. Like a second Gustavus, Cromwell stood forth to champion his oppressed brethren of the continent, like a second Elizabeth he struck at the Spanish Main. His wider dreams of a great Protestant federation, like his negotiations with the insurgent Condé and his encouragement of the restless Rochellois, were 1650-4
not destined to bear fruit, nor were his plans to transplant the seed of New England Puritanism to the West Indies more fortunate. Of all the European powers, though the folly of the Fronde and the diplomacy of Mazarin concealed it from him, England and Protestantism had most to fear from France, and among the triumphs of the Cardinal-minister one of the greatest must be reckoned his enlistment of the Puritans against the Spaniards.

The relations of the Puritan régime with France were supplemented by its attitude toward Spain. Under the influence of a great tradition and an inspired diplomacy it struck the final blow against an outworn power. Following the ex- 1655
ample of a past generation no less than the demands of his own time the Protector despatched a fleet against the West Indies. This expedition under Venables and Penn added Jamaica to England's Caribbean possessions, and strengthened her claims on the Bahamas, which a later generation was to make good. The exploits of Blake echoed the triumphs of the Elizabethan sea-kings, and the capture of the Spanish treasure-ships off Cadiz in the third year of the Protectorate seemed almost to bring again to England the glory of Drake. And when, finally, Cromwell's protection, backed by the threat of the most dreaded army and fleet in Europe, was thrown over the Vaudois Protestants then being persecuted by their Catholic masters, not only the petty states of Italy but France herself heeded his admonition.

Yet if the Puritan régime looked backward to a past polity

it looked forward to a future economy. With all their religious fervor, with a theology as old as Augustine, a close adherence to Old Testament inspiration, and a belief in the intimate presence of a Deity vitally concerned with their doings in the most minute particular, the Puritans were true sons of Calvin in their devotion to commerce and finance. In their hands began the final emergence of the mercantile element in English politics. However much they stood for an extreme, militant, and triumphant Protestantism in their dealings with Spain, they represented no less the determination to make England supreme in sea-power and trade even against communions of their own kind. In that ambition they passed the Navigation Act. In that spirit they fought Holland and secured indemnity for Amboyna with a share of eastern trade. In that spirit they cemented England's long-standing political relations with Portugal by a great commercial treaty and launched Blake to spread the terror
1655 of the English flag among the pirates of northern Africa, to enforce respect for it and for their power throughout the Mediterranean states. In that spirit they made treaties with the Protestant states of Sweden and Denmark and gained freedom from the vexatious Sound Dues. In that spirit they placed commerce for the first time in the front rank of foreign politics, and set England in the path that led to colonial and commercial pre-eminence.

The Puritan contribution to liberty

Such were the circumstances which made England the real center of European interest in the decade following the Peace of Westphalia. But it was not alone because the Puritans injected the spirit of a militant Protestantism into a continent whose interest in religious conflict was all but spent. Nor was it in their emphatic challenge of the mastery of the sea, though this brought them in touch with almost every phase of European activity, that there lay the ultimate importance of their advent on the European stage. Whatever their early Christian theology, their fantastic reversion to primitive church forms and phraseology, they did much to loosen the fetters of thought and speech by which men had been bound to the established order in church and state. "No man who

JOHN MILTON.

From the painting by P. Van der Plaas.

knows aught," wrote Milton, "can be so stupid to deny that all men naturally were born free . . . and were, by privilege, born to command, and not to obey." And again, in his apostrophe to Cromwell, "In human society there is nothing more pleasing to God, more agreeable to reason, nothing fairer and more useful to the State than that the worthiest should bear rule."

There spoke the prophet of democracy. But even his splendid theory was not the sum of Puritan contribution to European progress. His fellows, as he said, were "men prepared not only to debate but to fight," and capable of enforcing their contention "that kings of England may be judged even by the laws of England." However the doctrines now openly advanced touched the thought of educated men, the Puritans rendered an even greater service to the cause of political liberty by their acts than by their controversial activities. They brought the issue down from the heights of theory to the dusty, blood-stained arena of practical affairs. By one fierce stroke they made manifest that kings may be held responsible to their subjects, whatever their relations to divinity. Far more significant than the blind struggle for supremacy among the northern powers, the long-drawn conflict between Spain and France, or even their own achievements by land and sea, this challenge of constituted authority was the chief contribution of the dozen years which followed the conclusion of the last great religious war. For with it Europe embarked on another stage of her long pilgrimage toward popular government.

The Restoration

That impetus was soon spent. On the 3rd of September, 1658, Oliver Cromwell died; and the fabric of government which rested on his wit and sword began to disintegrate almost at once in the hands of his successors. The Council of Officers, the Parliament, and Cromwell's son, Richard, who followed him as Protector, found no support in the country, and promptly fell out among themselves. England was weary of Puritanism and its too great restrictions. Probably a considerable majority of Englishmen had never been in sympathy with the Cromwellian rule even at the height

of its triumphs; and with all its success abroad it had failed to produce any constructive work at home. The time was not ripe for true self-government, much less for the forms in which it presented itself at this moment. Royalist plots began to make themselves felt; the remnant of the Parliament and the army leaders came into sharp opposition; and a great majority of the English people began to look toward the restoration of the exiled heir to the throne as the chief of
1659-60 blessings which could befall them. The Puritan régime had exhausted its mandate. And when the commander of the Scotch forces, General Monk, made his way to London, declared for a free Parliament, and entered into negotiations with the exiled prince, the end was not long delayed. The navy went over to the royalists, and Charles was invited to return. That invitation he accepted with alacrity, and with his coming England entered upon another and a very different era of her history.

The changes on the continent 1659

Moreover, concurrently with events in England, the whole face of political affairs upon the continent was changed. The Peace of the Pyrenees ended the long Franco-Spanish rivalry, with France in possession of half a score of border towns and districts which further strengthened her frontiers, while the French heir became the husband of the Spanish Infanta.
1660 Scarcely was this accomplished when the treaties of Oliva, Copenhagen, and Kardis brought to an end the northern war which had filled the years of the Cromwellian rule in England. By them Sweden finally secured the whole of the Scandinavian peninsula, and remained the dominant power in the Baltic lands. The Polish Vasas gave up their claims to the Swedish throne; and Swedes and Poles alike renounced their suzerainty over Prussia, which thus came unencumbered into the hands of Brandenburg.

Meanwhile there came an extraordinary change in the rulers of the continent. A new Emperor, Leopold I, took up the
1658 long burden of his rule; the Ottoman Turks began to rouse themselves under the inspiration of a great Albanian family, the Kiuprilis, who, as grand viziers, again threatened Europe with something of the terror it had felt in the days of

Suleiman the Magnificent. After a chaos of personal and political rivalry among the leaders of the English Commonwealth, their power was overwhelmed by the wave of royalism which brought Charles II to his fathers' throne. A twelvemonth later Mazarin was dead, and the young prince, Louis XIV, declared his majority and became king of France. With this the Age of Cromwell came to an end, and a new act of European history took its place upon the stage, prepared to develop in other hands and with far different motives another element in political affairs.

1660

1661

CHAPTER XXIV

EUROPE AT THE MIDDLE OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

THERE are few periods of European history which can be compared with the mid-decades of the seventeenth century for dramatic events in the world of politics. The attempt of the Cossack Khmelnitzki to establish a new state in eastern Europe; the effort of the Amalfi fishermen, Masaniello, to seize the ruling power in Naples; and the rise of the English country gentleman, Cromwell, to the headship of affairs in the British Isles and a commanding place in European politics, would alone make these years memorable. But beside these extraordinary events, the mad fantasy of the Fronde in France, and the tragic failure of William II to secure the power of the house of Orange in the Netherlands, with the consequent rise of a republic there under the guidance of another great exponent of the popular principle, John de Witt,—these circumstances combine to form an unparalleled chapter in Europe's history. Never in her whole career had she seen at one time so many and such diverse attempts to change the forms of government. Nor was the least significant feature of the situation the fact that most of these activities were connected with the progress of the middle and even the lower classes into a place in public affairs. Thenceforth the so-called bourgeois or middle class, which had long been dominant in the private concerns of commerce and finance, took an increasing part in those affairs of state, long monopolized by the aristocratic element.

Yet neither the conflicts within their own borders, nor the tumults which accompanied or resulted from them, nor the struggles between opposing principles and interests within their various states, exhausted the energies of Europeans in

this eventful period. Still less were they limited by the concerns of the spirit which had played so great a part in the preceding century. In two directions outside the immediate field of politics and religion, the mid-seventeenth century was an era of great significance. The one was Europe oversea, the other was the domain of intellect.

Europe oversea 1642-60

Of these the first was more spectacular if not of more immediate importance. It was but natural that the turmoil within Europe should send its ripples to the farthest edge of her possessions, even where these were not directly touched by events at home. It was no less natural that such great movements should stir the depths of thought. Above all was it inevitable that a crisis in English affairs, like that produced by the civil wars, should have an effect upon the societies which she had founded in America, in large measure from those same elements which furthered the revolt at home. Nor was it possible that the struggle between England and her continental antagonists should not be reflected throughout the extra-European world; or that the question of the mastery of the sea should not involve in some degree even those powers little moved by conflicts over European borders or discussions over popular rights.

North America

Nowhere was the impulse of European unrest during the Age of Cromwell felt more keenly than in North America. There New England had rejoiced in the triumph of her brethren at home, to whose aid many of her strongest spirits had hurried at the outbreak of war. There, on the other hand, the more royalist Virginians had been compelled only by force to submit to the authority of the Cromwellian régime; while the belligerent Barbados planters, proclaiming Charles II, had carried their principles so far that only the bombardment of their capital reduced them to submission. This accomplished, and Jamaica secured by Venables and Penn, the chief interest in that quarter of the world remained the steady progress of population, and the increasing if unsystematic efforts of the English to secure strategic points by conquest and colonization. These movements were strengthened by the course of events at home. As in the preceding decades the

1655

northern colonies had been reinforced by the Great Emigration of the Puritans, so now the southern colonies received
1654 recruits from the ranks of royalists fleeing from the Puritan ascendancy. The effect was quickly apparent. Far to the southward of the parent colony, the Virginians began the settlement of the Albemarle region, known to later generations as the Carolinas. With it began another chapter in the slow and steady advance of the English occupation of the continent,—the first substantial result of Puritan domination as it related itself to the colonial world.

Holland For England found rivals in her expansion during this period, and her activities were not the only factor in the affairs of the New World. Flushed with the triumph which set the seal of recognition on the achievement of Dutch independence, the men of New Amsterdam had been quick to signalize their country's triumph by an attack upon the neigh-
1655 boring Swedish settlements; and with the easy conquest and ultimate transfer of New Sweden to their hands, came the beginning of the end of Sweden as a colonizing power. At the same time Dutch enterprise was active in a different field. From their traders along the Hudson, the Iroquois had
And New France been supplied with arms and ammunition, and, for the first time, those fierce and warlike tribes were enabled to meet their old enemies, the French, on somewhat equal terms. To savage foe and civilized settler they now became equally ter-
1656-8 rible. The ensuing conflict along the loose frontiers, within which they claimed an absolute sovereignty, threatened not merely the extinction of their native enemies and the closing of all ways to the west, but the destruction of New France, which saw its darkest hour since its defeat by the English a generation earlier. Not until that long and bloody conflict was ended did trade return to Montreal and Quebec and then only on savage sufferance. In this fashion were made manifest the earliest results of the revival of Dutch enterprise in the west.

The Exploration of the Northwest 1659 Yet at that very moment, in spite of this reverse, there was being prepared a fresh advance of French power which was destined to be of even greater importance in the Euro-

THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE, BY HENRY HONDIUS, 1630.

From the Hondius-Mercator Atlas of 1633. One-third original size. A fine example of the skill in engraving, and the attention paid to geography in the late 16th and early 17th centuries.

pean occupation of North America. The year after Cromwell died, two bold adventurers, Radisson and Groseillers, making their hazardous way as far as Lake Superior, pushed forward from there on a journey which took them south and west, possibly as far as the Mississippi. Thence west and north they found their way to the vast plains inhabited by a tribe till then unknown to Europeans—the Sioux. From this great exploit they finally returned with rich supply of skins and the first definite information of the interior of the continent beyond the great lakes. In the same year that their adventure began, another event of scarcely less importance to the French province helped to determine its fortunes; for there arrived at Quebec one Francis Xavier de Laval-Montmorency, first vicar-apostolic of New France. The advent of an ecclesiastic of such rank evidenced the growing importance of the French colony, while his spirit, ability, and character, no less than the strength of the great order whose representative he was, gave additional impetus to that opening of the west which was to bring a formidable rival to Spain into the more distant regions of North America.

South America

Meanwhile, the southern continent shared, with the opening up of the interior of North America, the colonial activities of the European powers. But it was no longer the problem of conquering native peoples and the exploitation of vast areas and rich mines which absorbed the colonist's energies. First in importance among mid-seventeenth century events in the extra-European world was the struggle for the possession of the north and west of South America between the Spanish and Portuguese, the English and the Dutch—each straining its resources, the one to maintain its old supremacy, the other to gain a foothold in the heart of the great planting district of the colonial world. Already England had secured her power in Barbados and strengthened her hold upon the Caribbean by the possession of Jamaica. Already the expanding energies of the Barbadian planters looked toward the mainland, on the north to where the Virginians were beginning to occupy the Albermarle district, and on the south toward that portion of Surinam better known as the Guianas.

1652 There they had founded some settlements; and there, reinforced by Jews driven from Brazil in the conflict between the Portuguese and the Dutch, they laid the foundations of British Guiana.

Brazil The struggle from which the Brazilian refugees fled was already virtually at an end. The battle of Guararapes, which had virtually decided Dutch fortunes in South America, left Holland in possession only of the districts about the ports and against these the Portuguese were now directing their efforts. Though the precarious situation of their government at home, and the reluctance of their king, John IV, lent little aid to the Brazilians, the unintentional succor which England gave them by her war with Holland served them well; and among the results of that war perhaps the most permanently important was the indirect effect it produced on the fortunes of South America. For the Dutch forces, reduced to meet contingencies elsewhere, were ill-equipped to withstand the steady and persistent attack of the Brazilians under the guidance of their leader, João Fernandez Vieyra. The arrival of the annual Bahia fleet, which he was able to enlist in his cause, proved the determining factor in their overthrow, which came with the fall of Pernambuco. Cut off from hope of aid from home, outnumbered if not outfought, the Dutch were unable to endure the Brazilian bombardment and attack. The
1654 place was surrendered. Its defenders were given passage home in return for yielding all their posts. Dutch residents were granted time to settle their affairs; and, with the treaty of Pernambuco, which followed close on the peace between England and Holland, Dutch dominion came to an end in Brazil.

South Africa Such was the first of the important consequences of the new and far-reaching rivalry of the northern Protestant sea-powers in the extra-European world; and had this been the only feature of Dutch colonial history during these years, the Netherlands might well have reckoned their short-lived colonial ascendancy at an end. But, great as was the loss which they sustained, the history of Dutch dominion beyond the sea in this period was not that of entire failure, much less collapse, for at the same moment that Holland lost her

sovereignty in Brazil she gained compensation from Portugal elsewhere. A decade earlier she had occupied the island of 1645
St. Helena, and made that, with Table Bay—which the decline of Portuguese commerce left virtually abandoned—her ports of call on the way to the East. In the year that the Peace of Westphalia was signed, an accident led to great, and, as it proved, permanent results in that quarter of the world.

A Dutch crew, escaped from shipwreck, made land at the 1648
present site of Cape Town. Compelled to support themselves, they sowed and reaped grain, obtained meat from friendly natives, and, on their rescue and return to Holland, demonstrated the habitability of the place even to the satisfaction of the slow-moving directors of the East India Company. An agent, van Riebeek, was despatched with three ships to establish a station; and with his advent, a century and a half after da Gama had rounded the Cape on his first voyage to 1651-2
India, there were laid the foundations of permanent Dutch occupation. The few and feeble natives, Bushmen and Hottentots, offered no obstacle to expansion, and, assured of better communication with Europe than perhaps any other European colony of the time, and a steady if slender livelihood from farming and grazing, supplying of vessels with fresh food, and a little trade, the new community grew in numbers and resources. Its population increased by a slow stream of immigrants, and its position thus secured, it was enabled to push into the interior. In such fashion South Africa was gradually brought within the broadening circle of European influence. Its far-stretching veldt became the birthplace of a new nation, and this remains one of the principal events which mark the era of the Puritan revolution.

With it the Dutch buttressed their hold upon the East, Portugal
where their ceaseless and ruthless aggression had destroyed the power of Portugal. The loss of the seaways, the transformation of a great part of her colonial population into Eurasians by native intermarriage, the exhaustion and corruption of her administration, which the subjection to Spain had served to intensify, no less than the triumph of Holland, to which it had contributed, made the Portuguese thenceforth

an all but negligible factor in the East. They still retained, indeed, some factories and ports, of which Goa, Bombay, and Macao were the chief. But the pacification of Westphalia scarcely reached to those distant regions, and the Dutch wrested post after post from their defenseless rivals, along the Malabar coast, till they crowned their triumphs by the occupation of Ceylon. Meanwhile, the suppression of a rising in Formosa against their harsh and arbitrary rule, like the Amboyna incident in the preceding period, and others of like sort in later years, showed that some Dutch agents at least had inherited not only the possessions but something of the methods of the former masters of the eastern trade.

Only from one quarter had they reason to fear serious rivalry; and it might well have seemed to them that the twenty years of civil disturbance which England had endured, together with the discords among the English commercial interests themselves, would have so crippled the English East India Company that all danger from that quarter was virtually at an end. But the first acts of the Puritan régime had rudely awakened them from any dream which they may have entertained of an undisputed supremacy. For it was soon apparent that their dominance in the East, as in the other quarters of the world, was to be challenged in no uncertain terms by the power which still remembered Amboyna and the humiliations of the ensuing twenty years.

The English East India Company

The Navigation Act gave notice to the world that English commerce was thenceforth to be reckoned with as a factor in European politics. The first Dutch war confirmed that warning; and the revival of the English Company followed in due course. Re-chartered by Cromwell, reinforced by fresh acknowledgment of their right to trade throughout the East, which his government extorted from Portugal, and backed by the powerful mercantile interests identified with the Commonwealth, the authorities of the English East India Company took fresh heart. The close of the war had restored the island of Pularoon and with it their position in the spice trade. A factory was set up at Hooghli to take advantage of their old license to trade in Bengal; Madras

increased in wealth and prestige. They restricted their activities chiefly to the Indian peninsula, and, despite the troubled condition of affairs at home, the dread of Cromwell secured for them a period of quiet in which they were enabled to recruit their resources and their strength. Such were the chief results in commerce and colonies during the Age of Cromwell.

Yet in this crowded mid-decade of the seventeenth century, with its revolutions and wars, its profound changes in the attitude of men toward government and society, and its altering balance of colonial and commercial supremacy, men were not wholly absorbed in politics or trade. It was only natural that the steady progress of commerce and conquest beyond the sea should be accompanied by an enormous increase in the knowledge of geography. If the explorations of the preceding generation had shaken the long-lived belief in a transcontinental waterway across America to the Pacific, the missionaries and adventurers who now pushed the claims of France as far as Hudson's Bay and the regions beyond the Great Lakes were rewarded by more than converts and commerce. They revealed the fact that, whether or not it was possible to go by boat from ocean to ocean, the way was infinitely longer and the intervening land far more important than Europeans had hitherto dreamed.

Discovery

Meanwhile European knowledge was enlarged in other quarters in this period. At the moment that the interior of North America was first opened to their enterprise, the Jesuit Lobo's account of Abyssinia was made public and gave to Europeans their earliest trustworthy information of that mysterious land whose existence had done so much to mislead the continent into great enterprise. For the time, indeed, there came a perceptible pause in that progress of maritime exploration which from Prince Henry's time to that of Tasman had discovered the chief seaways of the world between the continents. But the spirit of land adventure, under the stimulus of Lobo and Radisson, prepared for fresh advance.

1660

Russia in Asia 1658

Already that advance had begun, but in a far different quarter of the world. Information concerning Persia had

long since been acquired by the traveler, Jenkinson, and those who followed him to the nearer East. The volumes of the Italian traveler, della Valle, which now appeared, shed new light on that still powerful monarchy. But it was to the activities of the Muscovites that Europe owed its chief increase of knowledge and territories at this moment in Asia. From the Russian boundaries at Okhotsk a series of expeditions extended their operations to the Pacific and deep into the
1648- interior. In the year of the Peace of Westphalia, one set of adventurers rounded the eastern extremity of Asia and reached Kamchatka, thus completing the knowledge of the Siberian coast. At the same time another party pushed forward to the mid Amur, founding Kumarsk as the extreme outpost of Russian sovereignty. With this an expedition was despatched to occupy the new provinces; but, attacked by Chinese and Manchus, the more advanced position became untenable, and Nerchinsk remained the limit of Muscovite dominion in Siberia. Ambassadors were despatched to Peking to negotiate for some division of authority over these central Asian lands. And, at the same moment that England gathered her energies to invade the eastern field by way of the south and the sea, there began on the north that long conflict of arms and diplomacy which two centuries later was to become a principal issue of world politics, as the rival powers
1658 gradually made their way toward each other and became leading factors in Asiatic affairs.

Intellectual progress 1642-60

However little the men of action were hampered in their efforts to extend European power in these mid-decades of the seventeenth century, it might seem that amid such manifold disturbances Europe would have had small leisure or even inclination for the arts of peace. Yet there is often curiously little relation between these two series of activities in any period, and this revolutionary era was not barren of achievements in the field of intellect. In some measure, indeed, the pursuit of letters and learning in England gave way to the more insistent demands of war and politics. The energies of the Dutch were diverted to the alterations in

their government, and the preservation of their commerce and their colonies; while the frivolous warfare of the Fronde, with the French struggle against Spain, and the general prostration of Germany, tended to weaken the pursuits which made for civilization. Yet, even amid such unexampled distractions, artistic and intellectual progress was not lacking, and, in certain directions, achieved new excellence and new forms.

Painting 1600-60

The work of Rubens and Vandyke was done before the passing of the Cromwellian régime, but the genius of Rembrandt still remained to lead that group of painters which made the two branches of the Netherland school, the Flemish and the Dutch, for the moment supreme in the world of art. No phase of human activity so accurately portrays the human soul as painting, and none, in consequence, reveals the character of a period so clearly and so pitilessly. And at no time was this more apparent than in the years which lay between the end of the sixteenth and the middle of the seventeenth century. In a measure this is due to the changing character and circumstances of the artists themselves. The Renaissance had seen them associate on nearly equal terms with sovereigns and statesmen. The Counter-Reformation saw their status depressed till, like the dramatists, they were often little more than strolling adventurers, rather the descendants of Cellini than of Leonardo. This was especially true in Italy, where the life of the typical figure of the age, the "fantastic and bestial" Caravaggio, resembles that of Villon and Marlowe in its curious combination of genius and depravity.

Changes in style and spirit

To this ensued the period of the great religious wars, and a new race of painters with a new age of art. With them landscape came into its own. The human body, especially the nude, which had so powerfully influenced the earlier schools, declined before the portrait, the genre, and the nature painters. For the first time the world as a whole was brought upon the canvas; for the first time men realized that beauty was to be found everywhere. For the first time, in consequence, painting lost the aristocratic tone which had marked

its earlier stages and became truly democratic. To the newer school a peasant was as fit a subject as an angel or a king; a farm-yard or an inn as full of artistic values as a palace. As a result, the field of art was enormously broadened and enriched, not only by the elevation of landscape but by the introduction of an infinite variety of classes and situations long excluded from the canvas. The aristocratic portrait school, indeed, survived. Rubens and Vandyke devoted their talents to that profitable pursuit; the genius of Velasquez immortalized the decay of the Spanish house of Hapsburg. But in art, as in other activities, it was evident that a new spirit had made its way into the European consciousness, and that spirit was peculiarly evident in those peoples and classes then coming into greater importance in the world of affairs.

Especially was this evident in the Netherlands. There the brushes of Cuyp, Teniers, van Ostade, Dou, and the greatest of them all save the master Rembrandt himself, Franz Hals, portrayed their country and their countrymen with unsurpassed fidelity and skill. The painters of peasants, burghers, and artisans, of homely scenes, the daily life of the middle and lower classes, the humbler surroundings of common existence, testified to the altering balance of affairs no less than to the revolution in artistic standards. Moreover, this was accompanied by a change in technique, which, for want of a better name, we call impressionism. To the men of the newer school it no longer seemed necessary or even desirable to portray in detail; it was often enough to suggest to the eye the line or color which it was supposed to see; and economy of effort often served a greater purpose and produced a more effective result than the minutest elaboration. Like nature itself they not merely regarded life as a whole, they achieved some of their greatest effects by elimination and suggestion.

This was not confined to the Netherlands. The genius of Velasquez, which immortalized and at the same time revealed the decadence of Spanish rulers and aristocracy, and damned a Pope to everlasting fame, found no less scope for its talents among the lower walks of life. While in the dark and earnest

features of Spain's burgher enemies, in the flat landscape of the Netherlands, and their homely life, his rivals found subjects even more interesting and far stronger than the features and dress of their aristocratic enemies, there was evident some touch of this spirit elsewhere. The triumphs of the French engravers who reached the climax of their art in this period were won, it is true, in their delineation of their noble patrons; in England artists like Hollar followed the fortunes of their employers even into war; while Vandyke and Rubens breathed the atmosphere of courts. Yet the greatest of miniaturists, Cooper, the master of medallists, Simon, found in the patronage of the English revolutionary leaders no less incentive to their skill; and even the courtliest of court painters was not uninfluenced by the technical if not the spiritual temper of the times.

For art, which in two centuries had come from its comparative absorption in saints and divinities to worldly subjects, had begun to find not only its inspiration but its rewards among the less aristocratic elements of society. Some brave spirits even began the practice of painting, not on commission, but for the market, and so relieved their talents of the incubus of patronage which had too often restricted their natural tendencies. Thus painting turned more and more from special classes, interests, and selected subjects, to life and nature as a whole. As terrestrial subjects replaced the celestial in its hands, and democracy aristocracy, it reflected more and more truly the changing spirit of the world which it portrayed. Nor is it the least significant circumstance in this general movement that in the hands of the old Rembrandt, and even in those of Velasquez, Christ appears as a man among men. For with the era of the Thirty Years' War the great age of religious painting, like the age of ecclesiastical dominance itself, came virtually to an end. And this circumstance, were there no other, marks the dividing line between the old and new conceptions of man's relations to this world and the next.

It would be too much to expect that the tremendous burst of democratic sentiment in England and the Netherlands,

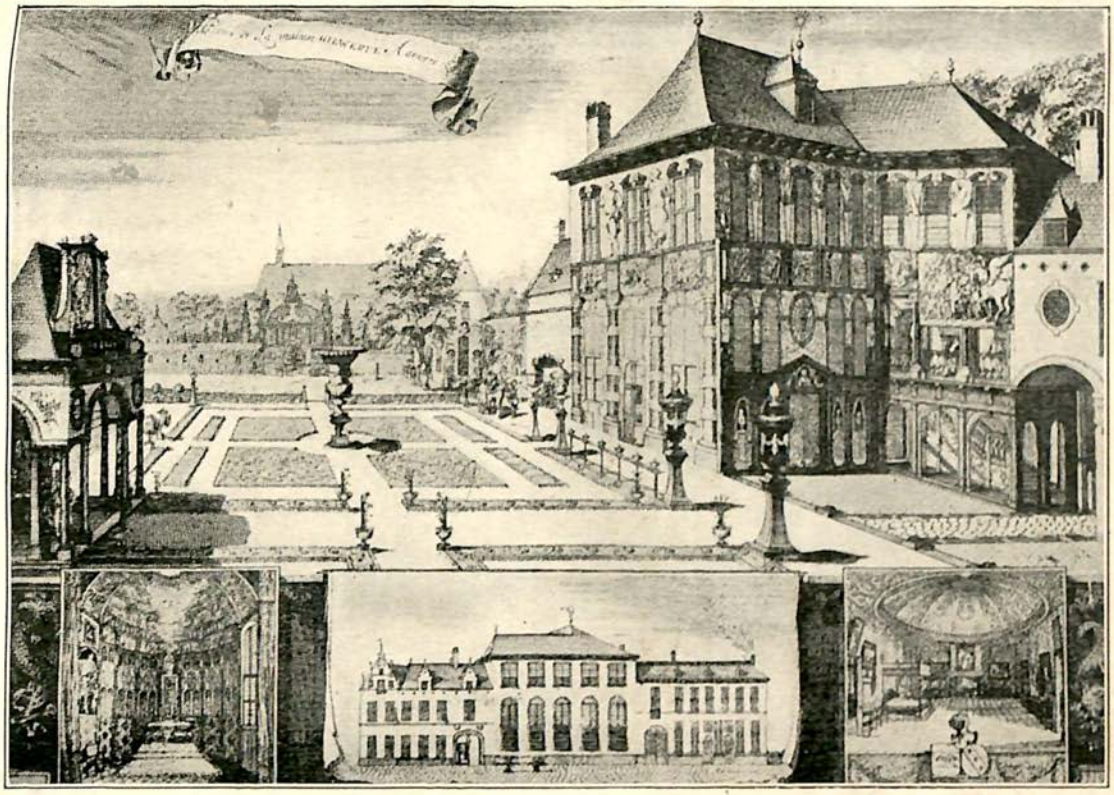
which distinguished the middle of the seventeenth century, would have found a corresponding echo throughout the continent. Nor was it much connected with that general tendency of the age to allow political power to devolve from the crown to nobility, which, for the moment, seemed to indicate the decline of absolutism. Yet its influence was not without weight; and, with the advance of scientific thought, of the philosophy of Descartes, and the obscurer movement toward "naturalism" in many fields, there came a reshaping of life in quarters where Anglo-Dutch influence was little felt.

Morals

Among those gradual changes, difficult to perceive in detail, and still more difficult to express, was the alteration in the moral standards and conduct of European peoples now evident as a result of the progress of Europe during the preceding century and a half. It seems apparent to most observers that one of the principal characteristics of the Renaissance was the dissociation of intellect and morals. This was, perhaps, natural. The growth of dissatisfaction with the church of the later middle ages had led many men to neglect, even to contempt of that institution, to skepticism, or to absolute denial of its spiritual functions. This tended to a weakening of faith not only in the establishment itself, but, what was more serious, in the belief upon which it was founded. That spirit of denial was immensely strengthened by the new learning, for there was revealed a world which had apparently done very well without Christianity, and the passion for classical models and thought which developed with the spread of the Renaissance did much to discredit still further what were known as the Christian virtues. Thus, though the classes which embraced humanism were relieved from some of the practices which had been characteristic of the middle ages, the refinements of their lives only sharpened the contrast between their intellectual and their moral standards.

The effect of the Reformation and Counter-Reformation

With the Reformation and the Counter-Reformation there came a revolt against the cynical immorality which characterized a certain prominent school of the humanists. Among the manifold elements which went to make up the movement



RUBENS' HOUSE, WHICH HE BUILT AND OCCUPIED IN ANTWERP, 1611-1625.

The views are notable for the magnificence of the building and gardens, which were in accord with the artist's position in painting and polities. The lower right-hand inset of the bedroom gives a good idea of the changes in physical comfort since the middle ages. From an engraving by Harrewyn, 1692.

toward revolution and reform in the church establishment, it is probable that the reaction toward a purer mode of life, no less—perhaps even more—than an alteration in belief, affected large classes throughout the continent. The insistence upon conduct in this world, as well as upon faith in the next, comprised no inconsiderable part of the teaching of the reformed communions in particular; nor was the rise of the reforming agencies within the old establishment without effect. It is true that neither had any tendency toward general tolerance of faith, but it has often been remarked that faith and morals are not necessarily connected in any direct and immutable fashion. Whatever the cause, it is apparent, especially with the advance of the seventeenth century, that manners, which may be regarded as some indication of morals, had gradually improved. And there can be no question, to take one example, that the progress of Calvinism had tended toward the enforcement of a far stricter moral code than had prevailed before its advent.

The progress was slow and unequal. No code of faith operates on every individual or every community equally. The ingrained weaknesses of human nature are stubborn material; and exceptions might easily be found to any general statement regarding the progress of private morality in any period. Moreover, each generation provides its own vices no less than its own virtues. Yet the profounder beliefs which resulted from theological controversy, the growing rivalry between the sects, increasing publicity, which is itself a certain check upon conduct, each contributed in its way to the improvement of habits. The historian of morals has observed that the introduction of hot drinks in the first half of the seventeenth century conduced to the same end. One would like to believe that this is true; and there is unquestionably much truth in it. But the concurrent development of the beverages richer in alcohol than mediæval intoxicants probably neutralized the results of the introduction of tea, coffee, and cocoa so far as general sobriety is concerned.

The clergy and the sects

One advance is, however, indubitable, and probably indicative of widespread improvement. This is the purification

of the clerical caste, both by the rise of Protestantism and by the far-reaching reforms in the Catholic establishment which accompanied the progress of the Counter-Reformation. Another indication of advance is to be found in literature, for, with all their freedom, the productions, especially of the first half of the seventeenth century, lack the grossness of much earlier work. They are infused, besides, with conceptions and ideals wanting in their predecessors. It is not, of course, conclusive evidence of an improved morality that literary expression becomes more refined, yet it seems reasonable to believe that the amelioration of language and situation in letters represents at least changing standards in conduct. Finally, the development of such sects as the Puritans, the popularity of the so-called Jansenists of Port Royal in France, and similar phenomena elsewhere, with the increase of religious literature which emphasized conduct rather than dogma, leads to the belief that European morals, as well as European manners, had greatly improved in the century and a half which had elapsed since the beginning of the Reformation.

Literature 1600-60

The changing spirit of civilization was emphasized no less in literature than in art and morals; and, by one of those curious circumstances which continually distinguish its progress, it was peculiarly evident in the domain of drama. Two years before the outbreak of the great German war the simultaneous deaths of Shakespeare and Cervantes had deprived Europe of its two greatest literary figures. Neither in England nor in Spain had any writer arisen worthy to pretend to the places thus left vacant. In England, especially, the Puritan influence had done much to discourage a form of entertainment so alien to the spirit which dominated its religious and political tendency; and Shakespeare was followed by no successors worthy of much note. The so-called Cavalier poets, indeed, began to develop new and peculiarly beautiful forms of lyric verse; and the genius of the young Milton contributed at least two masterpieces to European literature in his idyllic pastorals of *L'Allegro* and *Il Penseroso*. But English drama in the hands of Shakespeare's

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successors reflected rather the form than the genius of the great dramatist.

The situation in Spain was not dissimilar. There the lofty spirit of Calderon, turning from the pursuit of arms, devoted itself to the production of plays, moral, philosophical, even theological, in their tendencies, and partaking of the nobler qualities of the old orthodoxy. But he stood apart from the main current of European letters, and in his own land he found no worthy rivals. Germany, meanwhile, had been all but eliminated from the field of letters. It was, therefore, to other hands that literary leadership fell, particularly in France, as the new spirit so evident in art and science invaded literature, and French comedy began its long and brilliant career.

Molière 1622-73

Its greatest exponent was Molière, who drew from his studies, his experiences as a strolling player, and his unrivaled acquaintance with society of every grade, those characters and situations which revolutionized his art. The reflection of contemporary life, the creation of universal and immortal character sketches, were not his only contributions to literature. He had been a pupil of the physicist Gassendi, he had been trained in the new philosophy, and he was thus in close touch with the great intellectual movements of his time. From these, no less than from his genius for observation and delineation, he added new elements to the dramatic art. In one direction he passed beyond the limits of the age of Shakespeare, for he put the people about him upon the stage, and painted for his auditors of every rank their own foibles small and great. Thus drama, like art, descended from its more aristocratic station to take account of classes hitherto as little reckoned with in stagecraft as in politics or painting. In so doing it related itself unconsciously to that movement which was coming to be called democratic. Nor was the circumstance that Molière found in the rapidly developing realm of medical practice the principal field for his satire without its wider significance. From the first court appearance of *Le Docteur Amoureux* to the final triumph of *Le Malade Imaginaire*, that motive was seldom absent. Like

his almost openly expressed contempt for the old physical hell of the church, it typified the altering tendencies of an art which, next to painting, perhaps, reveals the character of an age.

Pascal. 1623-62

The progress of that spirit of denial of dogmatic authority was no less notable in another quarter. The same decade which saw the Puritan ascendancy in England and the beginnings of the new comedy in France was marked in the

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latter country no less by the appearance of the so-called *Provincial Letters* from the pen of the mathematician-philosopher, Blaise Pascal. Its unmatched satire, directed against the Jesuits, voiced a new spirit in the discussion of the most vital concerns of religious life, and gave tremendous impetus to the free handling of subjects, till then reckoned, by ecclesiastics at least, as all but inviolable from the profaning touch of laymen.

The Jansenists

Pascal's work was inspired by the attacks of the Jesuits upon the "Catholic Puritans," the so-called Jansenists, whose principal seat was the abbey of Port Royal, near Paris, which, under the rule of its great head, Angélique Arnaud, had adopted the doctrines of the Jansenist apostle, Duvergier, abbot of Cyran. These infused a new element into the religious ferment which stirred the followers of the old communion only less than the advanced disciples of the English revolutionary school. For the Jansenists, however they differed from the Calvinists in dogma, were filled with the spirit of mysticism and subjective experience as opposed to the scholasticism and rigidity of the Jesuits. They looked back to St. Augustine; they laid stress on religion rather than on theology; they tended toward a doctrine of faith rather than of works; they even verged on predestination. And this—in a country and a time when "a theological opinion was a political event," when adherence to St. Paul meant almost inevitably a controversy with the followers of St. Peter, and the disturbances of the Fronde shook the foundations of all authority—was a striking proof that the mind and heart of Europe was being altered in ways that boded ill for the champions of mere authority.

MOLIÈRE.

From a portrait by Pierre Mignard.

The English lawyers

Yet with all the controversies of the Jesuits and the Jansenists, the activities of the revolutionists, and the doctrines of the philosophers, the most vigorous expression of the revolt against arbitrary authority was to be found in England. Curiously enough, it was in that class whose existence seems most intimately bound up with government and precedent, the lawyers. The principle of popular share in government which had found its most vigorous expression in England was the product of a long development, not alone in practice but in theory. It was scarcely less the result of the growing strength of the middle classes, or of the philosophical speculation which provided them with a rational foundation for their claims to a determining share in public affairs, than it was of the devotion to historical precedent and law which had always been so characteristic of the Anglo-Saxons.

Among them, almost alone of European peoples, during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the popular share in government had been preserved by Parliament, even in the days when absolutist kingship was making way among all European states. Tudor rule had been a despotism, but by popular consent; and when the Stuarts had sought to follow the example of their fellow-rulers on the continent, and turn the old royal claims into the practice of the realm, they had been confronted with the still more ancient claims of the supremacy of the law and ancient custom. In the controversies which followed, the lawyers had taken a leading part. Against James I's contention for the royal right to override the popular liberties, men like Coke contended for the privilege of the people as expressed in the old laws. There such men as he stopped. "Sovereign power," he declared, "is no Parliamentary word. . . . Magna Charta is such a fellow as he will have no sovereign." There were others in his class who did not stop there, but claimed for Parliament an authority whose concession would have altered the constitution. In this lawyer class the first two Stuart kings found their most persistent foes.

Salus populi suprema lex

The crown in their contention was under, not above the law; and the rallying-cry of those who resisted royal attempts

at "innovations" was the ancient maxim, "*Salus populi suprema lex,*" the welfare of the people is the supreme law. Nowhere else in Europe was there an echo of this principle, save perhaps in small and remote districts of no weight in affairs. Nowhere was there a legislature which made the laws, nor such popular share in judicial procedure as the jury system which prevailed in England, and which, with all its faults, offered a powerful support against oppression, private or public. It was in the resistance of such elements, backed by the powerful sentiment of the classes whence they were drawn, that the Stuart project met its first great check.

This was not all of the situation, nor was Coke's dictum the cause of the final catastrophe. What mere legal opposition would probably never have achieved, revolution accomplished. From the strange anomaly of a class based upon precedent opposing the authority of that power which in most states was itself a precedent, and the origin of all law and precedent, there was developed a still more surprising anomaly. This was the result of a series of events which carried men beyond the doctrine of the supremacy of law even while they clung to its logic and its forms. With all its defiance of constituted authority, its actual usurpation of government, the Puritan régime held tenaciously to legal form and precedent, and, in so far as might be, to legal procedure. It sought to give its very destruction of the old order every appearance of asserting ancient rights against the efforts of the crown to enter upon a series of "innovations," which would subvert the privileges of the people.

The rise of parliamentary authority

Their progress was rapid. Against the royal claim to the right of modifying—and thus making—law to meet an emergency, they set the principle of the inviolability of law, and so dealt a death-blow to divine right and royal prerogative. Thence as the contest deepened in intensity Parliament arrogated to itself the right it had denied the king, and, under guise of "interpreting" the law it assumed virtually the law-making power stripped of the old royal right of veto. So from royal supremacy across the bridge of law-making the revolutionary party came to the supremacy neither of king

nor of law, but of Parliament, and ultimately of the people who chose that body. Thus if the English Revolution is the event which marks the break-down of royal supremacy in the state, it is as well the event from which dates the beginning of the ascendancy of the people and their legislature over king and law alike.

Hobbes

It was natural that while the revolutionaries assumed the guise of the champions of the old order the efforts of the political philosophers should be directed toward the discovery of some rational basis for government, and on every hand there arose prophets and priests of new beliefs. First of these in time and importance was Thomas Hobbes. Born in the year of the Armada and living almost to the Revolution of 1688, this great thinker comprehended in his life as in his writings all those great convulsions which profoundly influenced his fortunes and his philosophy alike. His views were perhaps no less tinged by his studies in the field of science. He began his speculations with the doctrines of Euclid, and developed his theory of the principle of motion as the basis of energy in life and thought. The political controversies which culminated in the civil wars turned his mind to politics; and from his observations and meditations he evolved his masterpiece, the *Leviathan*. Like its frontis- 1651
piece, his book figured the state as a huge artificial man, composed of lesser individuals, with a life and development of its own, capable of being modified or destroyed.

He was a pupil of the "mechanistic" system of thought, and though insufficiently trained to appreciate fully the efforts of the experimenters to arrive at scientific truth, or to contribute to advance in that field himself, he none the less fills a not inconsiderable place. He did much to found a school of thinkers bent on the construction of a theory of universal relationship between man and nature, and between man and the society which he created. His conception of the moral nature, "the natural springs and rational grounds of human action," has given him the appellation of the "founder of the utilitarians." This has been strengthened by a philosophy which seems to indicate men as moved chiefly

or entirely by self-interest, and judges events by their results rather than by any standard of higher motives. His declaration of the virtual irresponsibility of the sovereign power, however modified by later thinkers, opened the way for a discussion of the fundamental principles of politics. The forerunner of so-called materialism, of criticism, and what came to be known as positivism, he was at once a psychologist and a moralist. To him philosophy meant less vague speculation than correct thinking; and, however bitterly attacked, he did one great service. He established that method of rational and historical investigation, that application of natural laws to society and government which led to the next advance in political theory.

Other writers

Beside him labored many men of many minds. Algernon Sidney and his fellows, inspired by the tradition of the classical world, dreamed of a republican form of government after the model, as they conceived it, of Greece and Rome.

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To these Harrington, in his *Oceana,* contributed another element, that of an ideal state, after the manner of More's *Utopia,* but infused with the newer doctrines evoked by revolution. To these, again, Cromwell's Latin secretary, Milton, added his great literary gifts in defense of the English people against the charge of regicide, and his plea for liberty of speech in his *Areopagitica.* This not only remains the armory for the arguments in that cause, but had its practical effect in bringing about the virtual tolerance in England of all writings not positively treasonable from that day to our own.

Political science

As Hooker, Grotius, and Hobbes put forward the doctrine destined to be of such great influence thereafter—that government was the result not of divine inspiration and guidance, but of historic evolution, achieved by some process of social contact—political science took its place as a department of European thought. Against the ideas of the thinkers who sought a rational basis for human polity, the prophet of the divine right of kings, the royalist Filmer, had composed the great formal defense of that doctrine, the *Patriarchia.* This dogma of absolute royal power, allied with the spirit of

revealed religion and dogmatic authority, stood out as the chief opponent of the new principles upon which Europe was to base its next advance in political theory and practice.

Opposed to this stood the champions of still more advanced thought, the extremists, among whom the so-called Levellers and Diggers were conspicuous. These voiced doctrines of social no less than political equality, scarcely heard again for two centuries. The effect was profound, not only upon the more superficial aspects of European life and literature, but upon those deep, underlying forces which, as the years went on, came more and more to dominate men's actions and their thought. Not since the Reformation had Europe experienced so vast an outpouring of controversial literature on so vital an issue. Nor had it been so deafened by a clamor, which found echo in many quarters as yet but little moved by the questions now, during the Age of Cromwell, for the first time debated in the open air of political controversy.

Newspapers

In two respects, at least, the Puritan period, following in the wake of the disturbances of the preceding years, contributed even more directly to the development of European practice and principles. The first was the evolution of a new power in public affairs. In an age of unprecedented freedom in thought and speech, amid events of such nation-wide importance, when every day brought forth a crisis in affairs, the appetite for news no less than for opinion grew. The demand created the supply; and, building on the model of the older news-tract, broadside, coranto, and news-book, that characteristic product of the modern European world, the newspaper, was rapidly evolved. Despite the fact that earlier generations had seen something of this form of publicity; despite the fact that later generations were to see it enlarged and altered almost beyond resemblance to the form in which it now appeared; it is to the era of the Puritan Revolution that we must ascribe the establishment of this tremendous engine of civilization in the essential form which was to make it probably the most powerful weapon of those who contended for popular authority.

This "fourth estate," as the newspaper was to be called,

Coffee-houses

did much to modify the habits of those peoples,—principally the English and the Dutch,—among whom it flourished. Not unrelated to it as a means of the dissemination of news and public opinion was another institution which owes its origin to the same period. Perhaps no single minor circumstance in the transition from mediæval to modern life is more noteworthy than the development of new forms of association in almost every field of human activity, intellectual, political, and social. Among these the rise of places of public resort for the upper classes is conspicuous; and the mid-decades of the seventeenth century are notable, among other things, for the establishment of so-called coffee-houses, where men met to drink the beverage then becoming fashionable throughout Europe, to exchange gossip and opinions, and to read the newspapers. These institutions, unknown to the ancients or the middle ages, seem to have owed their origin to similar meeting-places in Constantinople, and their extraordinary popularity to the increasingly urban habits of Europeans. Vienna is usually credited with the first venture of the sort; and thence, or from a common source, they spread with great rapidity throughout Europe. London boasted its first coffee-house under Cromwell. There in particular they increased in numbers and popularity. By the beginning of the next century they were among the most conspicuous features of English life, and, apart from their own importance, they did much to inaugurate that institution so characteristic of the Anglo-Saxon race, and known by its English name in nearly every tongue, the club.

Science —the biologists

It was, too, in Cromwell's day that there began that association of English men of science which was to develop into the Royal Society in the ensuing reign. Its formation was characteristic at once of the great advance of English science and the extension of that principle of co-operation which was making itself felt in the formation of new academies and learned societies throughout Europe. It was particularly significant of that tendency to correlation of forces to wrest from nature the secret of life and its phenomena which became the function of the biologists. To them the invention

of the microscope had been so great a service that it is scarcely too much to say that it created biology in the modern sense. In consequence, the Cromwellian period saw the beginning of a series of contributions to the knowledge of the structure of animals and plants which is the principal characteristic of the science of the time, until the rise of the great mathematicians of the late years of the century. This was, indeed, the dawn of the golden age of microscopy.

The microscopists

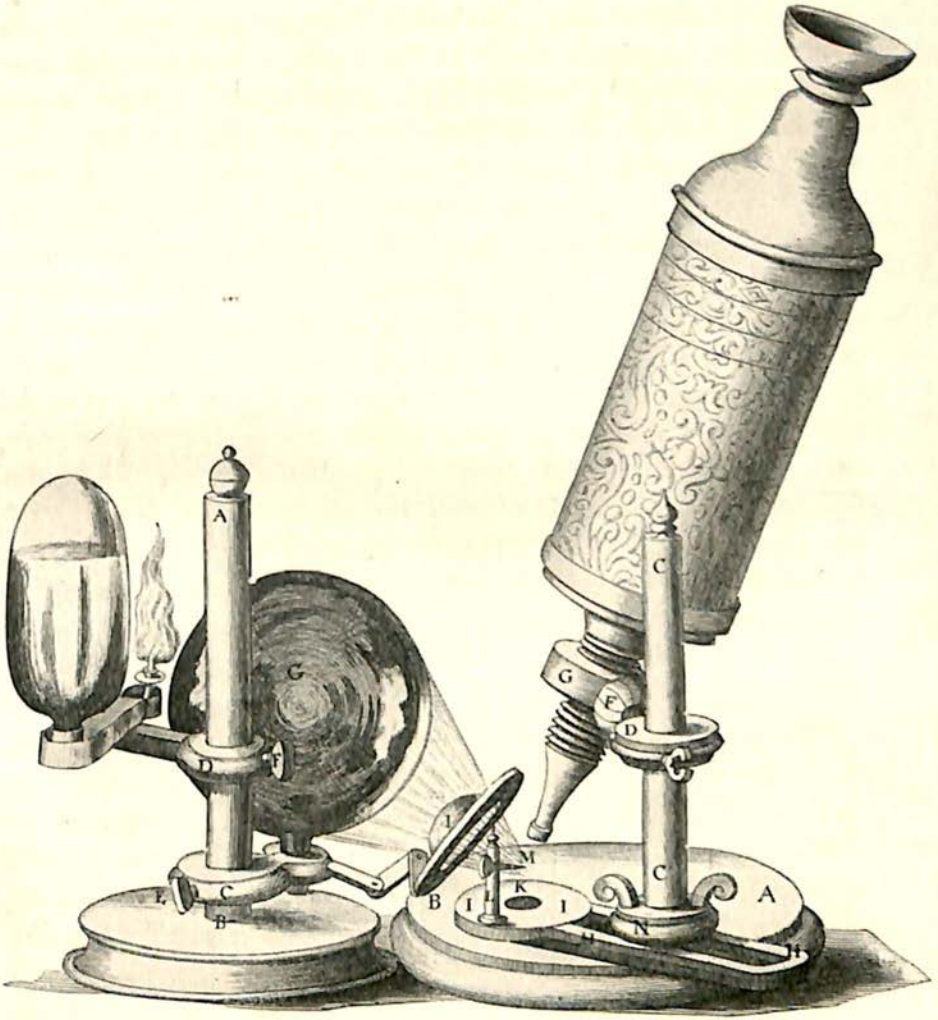
The progress in the investigation of structure was not confined to any land. The labors of the Englishmen Grew and Hooke and Ray; of the Dutchmen, Swammerdam and Leeuwenhoek; of the Italians, Redi and Malpighi, among others, raised the knowledge of living organisms to heights undreamed of even a generation earlier. Their researches disturbed the belief in spontaneous generation which had persisted since the time of Aristotle. With them began comparative anatomy as the foundation for zoölogy and the consequent transition from mediæval to modern natural history. With them began that microscopic study of the minute structure of plants and animals, of insects, even of animalculæ, which made a beginning for those branches to which we give the name of histology, of embryology, and bacteriology. Above all, so far as practical application goes, was their contribution to the knowledge of human anatomy and physiology. Here they explained the various structures and functions of the higher organisms through their investigations in the lower, by comparative anatomy. It was a significant testimony to the passing not only of mediæval ignorance but of classical error; and though their results were not immediately evident, and their conclusions long doubted, the triumphs of the microscopists now began to rival those of the astronomers and to excel those of the chemists. And, to confirm the fact that the Age of Cromwell marked a turning-point from one age of science to another, it is a noteworthy coincidence that in the year which saw the beginning of the end of the Thirty Years' War and the outbreak of hostilities in England, 1642, Galileo died and Isaac Newton was born.

Finally, if it needed any further proof that the mediæval

Scholarship

period was at an end, the course of scholarship in the preceding generation afforded ample demonstration of that fact. For the first half of the seventeenth century is notable for the publication of those chronicles and literary remains which the middle ages bequeathed to history and literature. Beside the editions of the classics and the church fathers there began to appear such monumental works as the Jesuit compilation of the *Acta Sanctorum*. This owed its origin to Bolland, and its continuation to his Belgian followers. It has absorbed their energies from that day to our own, and, however apart from the general interest or even the general knowledge of most men, it has contributed incalculably not only to their faith but to their information concerning the middle ages. In France the Benedictines of St. Maur entered upon historical enterprises of no less consequence, and Ducange began his labors, which were to supply the world for the first time with a dictionary of mediæval or low Latin. At the same time, others, from Bacon to Pallavicino, laid the foundations of modern historical writing along the lines of Machiavelli and Guicciardini rather than those of the chroniclers; and so confirmed the place of another art in the European world.

This activity was of far more significance than the mere progress of historiography. In at least two directions it marked a distinct epoch in the intellectual development of Europe. On the one side it reflected the continuance into the historical field of the conflicts between the communions which had begun with the Reformation, found their fiercest expression in the Thirty Years' War, and in some form, continue to our own day. But it implied, no less, the beginning of a reaction against that classical interest which had now dominated Europe for a century and a half. It reintroduced into the content of European intellect something of that mediæval influence which had inspired so many centuries of European life and thought. That influence was never to regain its old ascendancy. But in its love of mystery, its devotion to faith, its romantic and picturesque qualities, no less than in its self-sacrifice, so alien to the classical spirit,



HOOKE'S COMPOUND MICROSCOPE.

From an illustration in his *Micrographia*, 1664. This is one of the earliest forms of this instrument, and is notable for its devices for adjustment and illumination, which can be easily identified in the drawing.

it was to modify the sharper outlines of the scientific and pagan attitude which had become interwoven into the fabric of European thought, and it was to become, in later years, a clearly discernible thread in that fabric.

Literature

The era of the Puritan Revolution was thus a peculiarly active period in many departments of intellectual achievement, apart from politics. England and France, in particular, had been prolific in literature scarcely less notable for its form than its content. The genius of the English Puritan, John Milton, had not merely been devoted to the composition of political polemics. It had in earlier years given to the world some of the most beautiful of its odes. The so-called Cavalier poets had introduced fresh beauties into verse with their love songs and conceits, while the talents of the leading English satirist, Butler, meditated the composition of that famous mock-heroic poem of Hudibras which found its subject in the peculiarities of the masters of the English state. At the same time the letters of Madame de Sévigné founded a new form of prose literature which was to play a great part in another century. Still more important as a sign of the times was the establishment of the French Academy, which did all that is possible for authority to accomplish in giving to letters and scholarship a public and official recognition such as they had not previously received.

Decline of superstitution

These phenomena revealed an altering attitude toward letters and learning which was characteristic of an era of freer expression in many fields. Another circumstance was still more significant of a changing mental attitude. It was the obvious decline of the old delusion concerning witches and witchcraft which had so long disgraced European intellect. The process of emancipation was by no means complete; and it was to be another century before the practice of witch-hunting was abandoned in even the most enlightened countries. But the progress of more liberal opinions, in particular the rationalism of science had weakened the old belief in such superstition. The Protestant communions had not yet fully or even in great part accepted the revelations of science. They had contributed little or nothing directly to the doctrines of

toleration by their own teaching or practice; and it was in their hands that the last great outburst of the witch delusion was to find expression. Yet they had more or less unconsciously served the interests of greater freedom of belief, and this had powerfully aided the emancipation from the credulity which had dominated men's minds from the earliest times.

The Age of Cromwell forms a brief period in the long history of European peoples; but it has an importance beyond its years. Through it was visible that powerful tendency of a modern world toward freer expression of individual opinion and that unity in diversity of intellect, religion, and politics, which offers the widest field for achievement to every species of human capacity. Though the English experiment was of few days and full of trouble it revealed that political capacity was not wholly confined to that handful of royalties and nobilities which had hitherto monopolized its conduct and its rewards. And in this, even more than in its purely intellectual aspects, it contributed to the general emancipation of European intelligence from the shackles of the past.

CHAPTER XXV

THE AGE OF LOUIS XIV. 1660-1678

AMONG the manifold changes which came over European life in the three years between the death of Cromwell and the accession of Louis XIV to personal rule, none, not even the cessation of the two great wars which had disturbed the east and west, was more striking than the reversed positions of England and France in European politics. Under the Pro- 1658-61
tector, English power had reached its greatest height since the death of Elizabeth. Under the guidance of Mazarin, France, despite her innate strength, despite her minister's ultimate triumph, despite her victory over Spain, was weakened by the faction of the Fronde, till her position, like that of her minister, was but a shadow of the predominance of the Age of Richelieu. Now in a moment everything seemed changed. Young as he was, the new king of France had scarcely ascended his throne when it was evident that a new force had appeared in the affairs of the continent, for his abilities, his resources, and, above all, his ambitions, made him almost at once the most conspicuous figure among European rulers. What Charles V had been to the first half of the sixteenth century and Philip II to its later years, the French king was to become; and his long reign of more than 1661-1715
fifty years grew to be, in fact as in name, pre-eminently the Age of Louis XIV.

The French king ruled no such wide lands as did the great Louis XIV
Emperor, nor did he focus so fully in himself the manifold interests of the European and the extra-European world as Charles V. But, like Philip II, he devoted his energies and the resources of the largest and richest state in western Europe to the accomplishment of a single purpose which vitally affected almost every people on the continent. And it was

this which made the activities of the young king the leading motive in the politics of the ensuing generation. The age of religious controversy was now all but at an end in international affairs. The age of nationalism centering in monarchs, of standing armies and foreign offices, of wide-reaching coalitions and overpowering secular interests was at hand. This new era it was Louis XIV's rôle to inaugurate. In it his ambition led him to play the leading part, and, by the aid of circumstances, France was enabled to become, for a time, the dominant power of the continent, in arts and arms, in civilization as in diplomacy and war. Whatever his fortune in politics, and however far his triumphs fell short of his ambitions in adding new provinces to his sovereignty, in one direction the Grand Monarque, who took the sun as his symbol, found the triumph of his people unquestioned. Under his rule France conquered the imagination of all Europe and insured the predominance of her ideals throughout the continent for more than a century.

England under Charles II 1660-85

At the same moment England fell from the high estate in European councils to which Cromwell's abilities and determination had raised her. The contrast between Sweden under Gustavus and Christina was less conspicuous than that of England under Cromwell and Charles II, for no Oxenstierna remained to preserve the traditions of greatness in the British Isles. With all the Stuart charm and a wit unusual to his line, the exiled prince returned to enjoy the life which fortune had sent him, intent only on the retention of his throne. Devoting his unquestionable gift for politics to that end, he prepared to exchange for it his friends, his honor, and such principles as remained to him, sunk in ignoble ease and the enjoyment of the pleasures of the flesh. He succeeded, indeed, where his father before him and his brother after him failed. He kept his throne. But he kept it at the expense of that for which his father and brother, with all their faults and folly, had not been willing to exchange their crowns.

Only in two directions did the England of Charles II remain of importance in the world of politics at large. The impulse toward commerce and colonies which the Crom-

wellian rule had done so much to stimulate, favored by the ambitions of the French which now absorbed their energies and those of their neighbors on the continent, found full fruition under the second English Charles. His reign witnessed at once the refounding and the reorganization of the British colonial and commercial empire, and while England's chief rival in the extra-European field was weakened and distracted by Anglo-French attack, England secured her hold on Asia and America. At the same time those organisms within the state known as political parties, favored by the peculiar conditions in which England found herself, now took on permanent form, and became thenceforth not merely the most active and characteristic element in English political affairs, but a determining factor in international issues with which England was concerned.

The system of Louis XIV

Meanwhile, Louis XIV took the center of the stage. Young, ambitious, diligent beyond most monarchs, or, indeed, most men of any class, skilled in diplomacy and gifted with those dignities and graces which so become the occupant of a throne, from the very beginning of his reign he addressed himself to the great tasks which absorbed his life and the strength of his people. He was freed from all popular restraint by the cessation of the old States General, which had not been summoned for nearly fifty years, and he neutralized the political importance of that factious nobility which had disturbed his predecessors by the establishment of a splendid court and a no less imposing army. These were no less useful than ornamental, for the innumerable pensions and posts of the court lured the aristocracy to exchange their old powers and ambitions for its lucrative and picturesque service, competing there for the honors of dependence on royal bounty, while the royal authority compelled the service of the nobility in the army. Crowning the work of the statesmen, who, from his grandfather's time to his own, had labored to make the monarchy supreme, he strengthened and extended those royal councils and those local officials, which, from the beginning, had been the chief instruments of absolutism. These, subservient to his will, contributed to the complete

ascendancy at which he aimed, and royal power grew till the epigram attributed to him, "I am the state," was scarcely more than the declaration of the fact.

The bureaucracy

Such was the system which, close on the turmoil of the preceding period when royal power seemed slipping from the grasp of European rulers, raised monarchy to the highest state of organized efficiency which that form of government had yet attained in modern Europe. This was not due wholly to the mere elimination of the other estates of the kingdom from political power. To a voiceless people and a powerless nobility, Louis XIV joined a ministry to which he summoned the executive talent of France, with small regard for social precedence; and this became the real strength of the arbitrary system which he completed. At the head of the finances he set the ablest of living financiers, Colbert. The conduct of the war office was intrusted to Louvois, who found no rival in that field till Carnot organized the victories of the French Revolution. And while the foreign office was put nominally under the care of Lionne, the direction of the skilled diplomats, trained in the school of Richelieu and Mazarin, remained chiefly in the king's own hands. Nor was the iron hand beneath the velvet glove less powerful. From the preceding generation were inherited the military talents of Condé and Turenne, foremost of living European generals. To these was added the engineering genius of Vauban. The army was reorganized and its discipline perfected under that drill-master whose name became a symbol for rigid system, Martinet; while a score of lesser men ably seconded the endeavors of their commanders. Thus equipped, filled with an overmastering passion for fame and power, a pride which passed all ordinary bounds, cold-blooded ambition which disregarded all common human rights, those of his own subjects scarcely less than those of his neighbors, the master of the most numerous and prosperous people occupying a continuous territory in western Europe, "the ablest man born in modern times on the steps of a throne," prepared to enter "the game of kings," and plunge the continent again into the throes of war.

England and Holland

If no circumstance in the situation of the times more clearly illustrated the change which had overtaken European peoples in the preceding hundred years than the contrast between the religio-political ambitions of Philip II a century before, and the national-political ambitions of Louis XIV, nothing is more striking than that they should have met opposition from the same quarter. As England and the Netherlands a hundred years earlier had fought against Spanish and Catholic supremacy, so now their people were found arrayed against the extension of French arbitrary monarchy and its territorial ambitions.

For the moment, indeed, this was not as apparent as it was to become in later years, since England and Holland were alike divided in their interests. They were then at the crisis of long-standing commercial and colonial rivalry. The Dutch, though still adhering to a republican form of government, contained a powerful faction, nourishing monarchical principles, and devoted to the house of Orange. The English were ruled by a monarch who shared his subjects' dislike of Holland, for reasons of his own, and who sympathized secretly with the arbitrary principles and Catholic faith of his cousin, the French king, rather than with the practices of his own people. Moreover, he was in continual pressing need of money, and quite unscrupulous in obtaining it. Thus he became a willing tool of French ambitions, ready at all times to exercise his power to keep England as neutral as possible in return for the presents and pensions Louis XIV bestowed on him.

and France

So, for a time, the real alignment of issues and antagonists was obscured by the three-cornered rivalry, and the internal situation of the two maritime powers. Not until the question of colonial supremacy had been determined in favor of the English by two great wars did their mutual danger and mutual interests compel them to unite against French Catholic aggrandizement. And not until two revolutions had set the Prince of Orange as ruler over both nations were the two peoples finally committed to resist the principles and practices of the new school of politics exemplified in Louis

XIV. Until that time, as at a similar period in the preceding century, the chapter of western European history which now began found Holland again the storm-center of affairs. And its motive power was Louis XIV.

The designs of Louis XIV

Before the true direction of his plans appeared, the French king had given notice of his claims to precedence throughout the continent. Scarcely was he on the throne when, through his ambassadors' challenge of Spanish precedence at the Vatican and the English court, his designs on diplomatic pre-eminence were revealed. Scarcely were they in evidence when his project for securing the Spanish succession to himself, the marriage of his brother to Charles II's sister, and the purchase of the Cromwellian conquest of Dunkirk from England, developed his position in the west. At the same time his despatch of aid to Venice and the Emperor against the Turks and his negotiations with the Baltic powers, no less than his military prepartions and his advances to the west-German princes, witnessed the extent of his far-reaching plans. For it became apparent that these involved not merely the extension of French boundaries but an ambition for universal influence.

The Anglo-Dutch War 1665-7

For the moment, indeed, the ultimate objective of these designs was masked by the alliance of France and Holland and the outbreak of war between England and the Netherlands, under cover of which the preparations of the French king were hurried forward. This second conflict with the Dutch was inspired not only by the long heritage of commercial and colonial rivalries, but by the personal animosity of the English king toward the people who had rendered him scant courtesy in his exile and had so recently replaced the Stadtholderate by a republican form of government. The English attack seemed at first likely to result in the overthrow of their rivals. The slight support afforded by France, joined to its own valor and resources, scarcely sufficed in a land so divided against itself, as was Holland between the republican and Orange factions, to withstand such an onset. Three naval battles left the advantage in English hands. New Amsterdam and Surinam were seized and Hol-

land's power seemed likely to go down before English attack. But what the Dutch might not have been able to accomplish for themselves, England's weakness and misfortunes achieved. The maladministration and corruption of the English court were thrown in high relief by two of the most terrible catastrophes which have visited any European capital in modern times, the Great Plague and the Great Fire of London. The government was brought to the end of its offensive resources; and a Dutch descent upon the English coasts, which for the first time in history brought the thunder of hostile guns within the hearing of the capital, hastened the signature of the treaty which ended the war. The Peace of Breda preserved Surinam and the spice monopoly to the Dutch. England retained New Amsterdam, now named New York, in honor of the king's brother, while France secured Acadia in return for Antigua, Montserrat, and part of St. Kitts. Thus, at the same moment that England extended her sovereignty from New England to the West Indies, and France established herself more securely in North America, Holland virtually disappeared as a colonizing power in that quarter of the world. The buffer-state of the New Netherlands was absorbed and the two nations who were ultimately to contend for possession of that continent were left face to face.

1665-6

Peace of Breda 1667

Almost at once that situation was emphasized by the changes which took place in European politics. Whatever the shifting balance of the colonial world, whatever the unsettled rivalry of the English and the Dutch, these were overshadowed by the sudden revelation of French power and ambitions which followed the conclusion of the Anglo-Dutch war. Hardly was the Peace of Breda signed when these ambitions were made manifest. Louis set up a claim to the Spanish Netherlands on the flimsy pretext of the so-called "*droit de dévolution.*" By this, in spite of its being a principle of private law, in spite of his wife's renunciation of her inheritance, the king pretended to the possession of the coveted provinces through his marriage to the Spanish Infanta. Immediately he launched his troops under Turenne

The first "War of devolution" 1667-8

against the unfortunate districts. For the moment his aggressive tactics and his cynical disregard of international conventions seemed likely to succeed. But his shameless audacity even more than his early victories startled Europe into resistance. It was in vain that he bribed his cousin, the English king, to keep his people from intervention. It was in vain that Condé surprised and overran Franche Comté, and Turenne advanced almost to the Dutch frontiers. Though the Emperor's hands were tied by the dangers which menaced his power from every direction, the astute diplomacy of the Dutch Grand Pensionary, John de Witt, was able to summon the Protestant states to his aid against the French danger. At the moment that Louis' prize seemed in his grasp, the Protestant maritime powers, Sweden, England, and Holland, signed, suddenly and secretly, a compact to resist further aggression on the part of France. This was the famous Triple Alliance, on which the French king's ambition foundered. He was compelled to make the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, which, though it gave him some of the so-called barrier fortresses of the Spanish Netherlands, forced him to give up Franche Comté and postpone his vengeance on the Dutch to a more propitious time.

Triple Alliance and the Treaty of Aix la Chapelle 1668

Such were the circumstances which ushered in the new era of European polity. No less important than those armed conflicts was the signature of the Triple Alliance. That treaty was of significance, not merely because it momentarily checked the ambitions of France to extend her boundaries, nor because it brought the Protestant states again into alliance, least of all because it endured as a permanent factor in affairs. It was hardly framed when the disintegrating influence of inevitable rivalries, fomented by French diplomacy, began its dissolution. But its immediate effect none the less demonstrated the strength of the doctrine and practice of the balance of power in European affairs. If Louis XIV had shown that a powerful ruler, unhampered by the moral considerations which make for peace between states, was a tremendous danger to the security and progress of European society, the alliance on which his ambition

The Triple Alliance 1668

broke revealed the fact that Europe had found an efficient remedy for even this great evil. And, while French jurists and diplomats, reinforced by French armies, prepared a new enterprise against Alsace as the first of those long-continued efforts to extend their borders across the Rhine, so, building on the example set by de Witt and his coadjutors, coalition after coalition sprang into existence, until the principle of the equilibrium of forces took its place among the recognized precepts of international polity. Thus, at the moment when Europe seemed most in danger, it devised a safeguard against the revived doctrine of predominance, if not supremacy, of any power over the rest of the continent.

France and England 1668-72

For the time, indeed, it seemed that even this remedy might not be efficacious and that Louis was in a fair way to accomplish no small part of his designs. The real keystone of the new diplomatic arch was England, and to detach her from her allies the French king was quick to take advantage of the peculiar situation in which she found herself. The triumphant burst of extravagant royalism which had united her two chief parties, Anglican and Presbyterian, to recall the king, had wrecked the loose-woven elements of which the old Cromwellian party had been composed. Under the influence of reviving loyalty to church and crown and the fear of continued anarchy the Anglicans had secured control of the new House of Commons, elected in the first months of Charles II's reign, and destined to the longest life of any English Parliament. The Savoy Conference between the representatives of the rival communions failed, doubtless by intention, to provide a compromise which would insure the comprehension of the more moderate sects within the old ecclesiastical establishment. The Parliament, under the direction of the chief minister, Clarendon, enacted laws which deprived all save the Anglicans of political power, in so far as that could be accomplished by the terrors of an oath. Betrayed by the king on whom they had relied, by the Parliament whose persecuting spirit they could not check, and excluded from all hope of union with the established church, the English Dissenters, or Nonconformists, were thrown upon their

own resources. The breach between them and their triumphant enemies became irreconcilable, and the English people were thenceforth divided against themselves on religious lines. These emphasized a cleavage, first social, presently political, between the two groups, which became no small factor in the world of thought and action, in regions far beyond the narrow confines of English domestic concerns.

The rise of English political parties 1660-74

In particular there arose from this situation a permanent element in public affairs of profound importance in the history of government. During the bitter conflicts of the ensuing decade and a half, the Presbyterians were transformed into a so-called Country Party, organized in opposition to the designs of the court. This, chiefly recruited at first from the Nonconformists and the more moderate Anglicans, gradually formulated a program, developed an organization, a following, and a set of political principles, into a disciplined and permanent Opposition in Parliament. At the same time the Court Party crystallized into like form, and the growing antagonism of the two bodies deepened the line of demarcation; till from them arose the political organisms known as the Whig and Tory parties. Their importance was not confined to English politics alone, nor even to their immediate influence on foreign affairs, in which the Country Party determined England's position as the enemy of Louis XIV. With them began a more truly popular government. And when the parliamentary system spread throughout the European world in the ensuing century and a half, it was in English parties, as in the English Parliament, that the widening circle of self-governing communities found models for their principles and practices.

The first result of this cleavage in English politics, however, was in no small degree unfortunate, for in its rivalries the French king found an opportunity to render England impotent in continental affairs. To offset the popular antagonism toward France and Catholicism, he bribed Charles to adjourn or prorogue his Parliament whenever it grew too dangerous to French plans. To render its efforts futile when it met he intrigued with opposition leaders, reinforced their

struggles against the policy of the crown in asserting its supremacy in matters ecclesiastical, and so assisted in producing administrative deadlocks. To divert attention from his own designs and to further weaken his enemies he encouraged the old Anglo-Dutch rivalry. Meanwhile, his diplomacy was busy isolating his intended victim. He disrupted the Triple Alliance by the secret Treaty of Dover with Charles II, and a concurrent arrangement with Sweden, which brought both powers to the side of France. He subsidized the bishops of Münster and Cologne, and, five years after the signature of the Triple Alliance, he hurled his troops upon the Netherlands. At the same moment his English allies again launched their fleets against their ancient rivals in a last effort to secure the mastery of the sea. 1670

The Anglo-French attack on Holland 1672-

Before this joint attack it seemed that the Dutch were doomed to extinction as a European power. Turenne and Condé easily overran their southern provinces. The English won a great victory over their fleet in Southwold Bay; and in a popular rising the mob of Amsterdam fell upon John de Witt and his brother Cornelius, put them to death, and left the state for the moment without a head. But the very crisis which threatened the existence of the Netherlands as a nation, suddenly revealed a new hero to the European world. In William, Prince of Orange, now elevated by the overthrow of the republican enemies of his house to the conduct of affairs, Holland was destined to find a preserver, and Louis XIV a worthy antagonist. Brave, phlegmatic, determined, gifted beyond any man of his day in diplomacy, statesmanship, and war, bred from his earliest youth in the school of public affairs, and accustomed to danger and intrigue, the young prince was a fit successor to those commanders and statesmen who had raised his country to independence and national greatness.

The coalition against France

His courage revived that of his countrymen, while his military skill made head even against the genius of the French generals; and his diplomacy enlisted Spain and the Emperor against the threat of French predominance. Brandenburg was won to his side by the fear of the Swedes and the

danger to her western provinces. At the same time the rising English sentiment against the increasing danger from French and Catholic ambitions overpowered the hatred of Holland, drove from power the Cabal ministry which had
1674 succeeded that of Clarendon, and compelled a treaty with the Dutch. Again, at a critical moment, Holland found a savior in the house of Orange, as William's adroit and desperate diplomacy revealed France and her allies face to face with a coalition of the most powerful states of Europe.

The second "War of Devolution" 1672-8

Despite the earlier successes of the French, and the Swedish inroads into Brandenburg which diverted the Great Elector from sending aid to Holland, despite French naval victories in the Mediterranean over the Spanish and the Dutch, the victory of Condé over William, and Turenne's ravages in the Palatinate, Louis XIV's forces made head with increasing difficulty against their enemies. Frederick William, hastening back to defend his threatened provinces, not only struck an effective blow at Swedish prestige by his victory
1675 at Fehrbellin but laid the foundations for Prussian traditions of supremacy in arms. The seizure of Ghent by the French ill-compensated them for the death of Turenne in the Palatinate; and Louis XIV's efforts to keep England neutral by bribery of all parties in the state were rendered futile by the determination of the country to enter the lists against France. Stimulated by the agents of the allies, no less than by their own inclinations, the leaders of the Opposition pressed on toward war. Supplies were voted for an army and a fleet; and, in spite of his obligations to his cousin and his own inclinations, Charles II was compelled to yield.

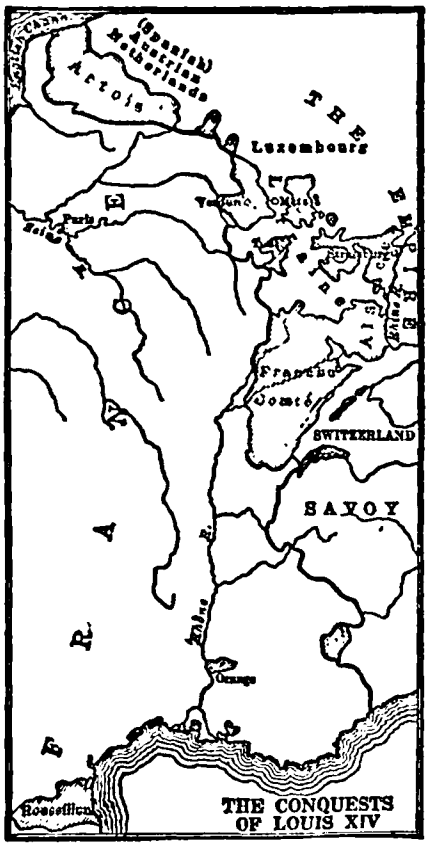
England's entry into the war 1677

His well-founded complaint that in taking from him the direction of foreign policy the Commons had invalidated the royal prerogative was significant of the changes effected in this great crisis. With the marriage of William of Orange to the English princess, Mary, it was apparent that England would no longer be restrained from a part in the war. It was scarcely less evident that the old rivalry of the English and the Dutch would thenceforth be lost in common animosity against their common enemy. And when, at the same

moment, the Emperor's hands were freed to aid the allies, it was perceived by the French king that he could no longer prevail against such odds.

The Peace of Nymwegen 1678

Under such circumstances peace seemed imperative to the Grand Monarque. Negotiations already begun at Nymwegen were hurried to a conclusion, and ten years after the Triple Alliance, the cycle of events which had brought such useless bloodshed to the people of the west was completed by a return to peace and the readjustment of European relations on the basis of an altering balance of national power. Brandenburg, compelled to postpone her ambition in the Baltic, exchanged her conquests in Pomerania for East Friesland and an indemnity. Holland preserved her provinces intact; the Emperor gave up Freiburg and the Breisgau for Philippsburg; while France and Spain divided a long line of barrier fortresses along the borders of the Low Countries.



Such were the territorial results of Louis XIV's second adventure in war and diplomacy. But it is evident, even in a bare outline of those events in western Europe which filled the first eighteen years of his long reign, that, of themselves, the relations between England, Holland, France, and the West-German princes could scarcely have exhausted the interest of European history in this period. During those mo-

mentous years when French armies and French ambassadors dazzled the continent and roused the antagonism of half Europe, it was, in fact, in other quarters and in far different hands than the spectacular activities of Louis XIV, that most of the real interests of progress were conserved and advanced. Two movements, in particular, challenged the triumphs of the French king with solid achievements of constructive work. The first comprised the complex activities of the powers beyond the Elbe, in Europe itself; the second was the activity of Europeans in North America.

Eastern Europe 1660-78

Of these, the former related itself most closely to that long series of events which culminated in the Peace of Nymwegen. What the reign of Louis XIV was to France and the house of Bourbon, that of Frederick William, "the Great Elector" of Brandenburg, was to his house and state, and that of Leopold I to Austria and the Hapsburg dynasty. What the wars in the west were to France, England, and the Netherlands, the simultaneous conflicts among the Baltic powers, the Empire, and the Turks were to the eastern states. And of far greater permanent importance to the fortunes of the continent than the personal ambitions of Louis XIV were the rise of Brandenburg and the final repulse of Turkish power.

The reign of the French king unquestionably was a great epoch in the development of European civilization. His very luxury stimulated that tendency of his countrymen toward the refinements of life which inspired imitation and invigorated their industry. It might be argued that his ambition for conquest compelled his antagonists to exertions which redounded to their ultimate advantage. Yet with all the prestige which he enjoyed in his own day and since, it is doubtful whether the splendid Grand Monarque contributed more to the real progress of the continent and its peoples than the hard-working, uninspiring Prussian prince who, rather by management than war, fostered and organized the resources of his disjointed patrimony. Certainly his service was not greater than that of the Archduke-Emperor whose youth was spent in building toy

Brandenburg and Austria

churches and whose age was dominated by the Jesuits, yet whose slender abilities, steeled by unfaltering confidence in his family and his faith, enabled his dynasty to emerge triumphant from the greatest crisis in its history, and, with the aid of his heroic allies, to roll back the last attempt of Asia to overwhelm the civilization of Europe. Neither in dramatic interest nor in solid results, was the great French adventure in the west superior to the drama which at the same time unfolded itself in distant Poland, with the heroic John Sobieski as its central figure.

The story of eastern Europe in the years when France challenged the domination of the continent is a tangled skein of many twisted threads, and the Peace of Nymwegen determined not alone the measure of the French king's successes and failures. It marked a turning-point in the fortunes of the whole continent. Between the east and west the far-aspiring diplomacy of Louis XIV in his relations with Sweden and Brandenburg, Poland, the Empire, and the Turks formed a connecting link of common interests. Yet each of these various elements played, no less, its independent part in the complex developments which found expression in the famous peace; and from their interaction with the French designs there presently emerged a readjustment of general European politics.

The northern powers

In the north the long rivalry of the Baltic states had been stimulated by their relations with events in the west. Denmark's alliance with the Dutch and her persistent maintenance of the so-called "Sound dues," which her control of the Baltic gateway enabled her to demand, had brought her into conflict with England. This was important as one of the earliest efforts of the new international law to free sea-going commerce from that species of feudal restriction which had disappeared on land. That controversy had been largely precipitated and composed by Cromwell who, in pursuance of his Protestant and commercial policy, had made terms with Sweden and Denmark. By them English ships enjoyed for a time the freedom accorded to the Dutch, but the issue was not finally determined and remained to vex Europe

for two centuries more. But the chief interest of Danish activities lay in the circumstance that, like Sweden, her people, wearying of noble and clerical dominance, assented to
1660 a *Lex Regia*, which made the king virtually absolute. It was symbolic of that general reaction in favor of royalty which marked the transition from the Age of Cromwell to the Age of Louis XIV, and seemed to presage the fall of popular influence in government.

That tendency, which had restored Charles II to the English throne and presently made William of Orange Stadtholder of the United Netherlands, was even more conspicuous in Sweden. Seduced from the policy which, under her dominant aristocracy had brought her into the Triple Alliance, she
1660 had, on the majority of Charles XI, put the state in his hands; and like his English namesake, the Swedish king entered the train of Louis XIV. The change was fatal to his country's ambitions, and all but fatal to her ascendancy. Her army was beaten by the Brandenburgers, her fleet was first crippled by the Dutch and then destroyed by their allies, the Danes. And it was a bitter commentary on her policy that the power which had played a leading part in the negotiations of Westphalia was only enabled to retain her boundaries thirty years later by the French king's resolution not to abandon his ally at the Peace of Nymwegen.

The Great Elector 1640-88

Far different was the case of Brandenburg, whose astute, unheroic Elector was no less bent on the extension of his boundaries and his power than the French king himself, and exerted his talents with no less success. His first care was the establishment of his authority. By his adroit and arbitrary management the privileges of the Estates of Brandenburg were limited, and the restless nobility of Prussia and Cleves repressed. The right to tax was enforced throughout his various lordships as an expression of sovereignty, no less than to increase revenue, and the straggling possessions of the Hohenzollerns began to take on some appearance of administrative if not of territorial unity. His stern but efficient administration maintained an army out of proportion to the extent and resources of his lands; and with his "state

all sting" he was enabled to play a part to which the size of his dominions would otherwise not have entitled him. Meanwhile he bent his energies to the enlargement of those lands, by the extension of his authority over the Hohenzollern share of the Cleves-Jülich inheritance, the acquisition of East Friesland and Magdeburg, Schwebus, and part of Pomerania. More important still was his effort to make his subjects prosperous, and thus increase his revenue. Every part of his dominions felt the impulse of an executive which lent itself to projects of drainage and canals, to the improvement of agriculture, the encouragement of immigration, and the spread of manufacturing industries, no less than to diplomacy and war. Scarcely anywhere in Europe was there a power which so fully represented the dominant tendencies of the age of absolutist nationality as did the disjointed territories of this second-rate state. As it developed a strong, well-organized administration, steadily reinforced by increasing economic prosperity, and directed by competent military, diplomatic, and political capacity, it prepared to claim a higher rank in European affairs.

Poland and Russia 1660-78

The manifold activities of Frederick William and the ambitious plans by which he hoped to bring his electorate from merely German into European polity were meanwhile favored no less by the entanglements of his neighbors upon the east and south than by the relative decline of his northern rival. Poland and Russia, in particular, formed the antithesis to Brandenburg. The one was rent by one of those recurrent struggles for the throne, which, at this time, followed the abdication of John Casimir Vasa, and divided the warlike nobility, even while the great Cossack revolt transferred the allegiance of those wild horsemen from Warsaw to Moscow. 1669

For Russia this was a doubtful gain in the disturbed condition of the state. Torn by the Raskol, or great schism, she now revealed a powerful element filled with fanatical hatred of all change, especially of those west-European influences which were making way among the Muscovites. The quarrels with Poland over the Cossacks were accentuated by the turbulence of those new subjects; and until the resulting war with the

1667 Turks left Zaporogia and the Ukraine in Russian hands, the wide lands along the Don, the Dnieper, and the Caspian were the scene of war and pillage. Meanwhile, the religious fanatics, escaping the clutches of the government, bore with them seeds of disaffection into the forests and the wastes even while they extended the hold of Russia upon the vast and sparsely settled lands which surrounded her on nearly every side. And had it not been that Poland was scarcely less disturbed by the complexities of her dynastic rivalries and harassed by conflict with the Swede and Turk, the Czars might well have rued the day that brought new cause of quarrel with their neighbors on the west.

Austria and the Empire

Such was the situation of the north and east in those years when France aspired to control the west. Save in so far as Sweden and Brandenburg had emphasized their growing rivalry by taking different sides in Louis XIV's wars, and Denmark found herself embroiled between the English and the Dutch, those powers played no decisive part in the western conflict. It was far different with Austria. If Holland, between England and France, was a storm-center of that struggle, the Emperor, between the Turks and Louis XIV's German ambitions, found his position no less hazardous. Along his wide frontiers lay the heart of that great problem which for five hundred years has disturbed the peace of the continent,—the Ottoman Turks. These now approached another crisis in their long career, and at the moment when Louis XIV prepared to execute his designs against his neighbors, they showed signs of a revival of those energies which had so terrified Europe in the preceding centuries.

The Turks

It had been the good fortune of the Christian powers that the Thirty Years' War had found the Turks unable to take advantage of their opportunity to extend their conquests while their enemies were engaged in religious conflict. For the eighty years after the death of Suleiman the Magnificent, the aggressive strength of his people, following their defeat at Lepanto, had gradually declined, with the incompetence of their rulers and the disorganization of their military force.

But the Age of Cromwell had revealed signs of their reviving activity. Its first manifestation was their attack on Crete, 1648- whose siege, beginning in the year of the Peace of Westphalia, dragged its slow length for twenty years, till, just as the Triple Alliance came into being, the fall of Candia wrested 1668 from Venice the most important possession left to her in the eastern Mediterranean.

In large measure Turkish regeneration was due to one family. At the moment that Cromwell concluded his war with Spain, a palace revolution had brought to the head of Ottoman affairs an old Albanian, Mohammed Kiuprili, as Grand Vizier. Under his relentless severity the Turks began to recover something of their famous skill in the one branch of human activity for which they seemed peculiarly adapted, the art of war; and for forty years thereafter, guided by some member of the Kiuprili family, they again threatened the peace of eastern Europe, and with it the course of events in the west.

The Kiuprilis 1656-96

The brunt of their attack fell, as always, upon Austria, then ill-prepared for such a stubborn conflict. The diverse territories which Leopold had inherited were united only by his personal rule and were in no condition to give him the assistance he required. Bohemia was wasted with war and cowed by the disasters of the long conflict which had begun in her borders. The portion of Hungary remaining under Hapsburg rule seethed with disaffection; and beyond its boundaries the restless principality of Transylvania—whose control was still in dispute—was scarcely more than a dependency of the Porte. And while Buda Pesth as an outpost of Turkish power threatened the imperial boundaries on the east and south, the old enmity of Sweden was now reinforced by the rising power of France which endangered the Emperor's authority upon the west and north.

The Austro-Turkish war 1661-4

Looking about for aid, Leopold found his two natural allies against the Turks, Russia and Poland, absorbed in mutual antagonism and internal difficulties. His appeal to the princes of the Empire brought little response. But Louis XIV, to whom he was finally driven to apply, was not unwilling to

play a generous part which, at the same time, enabled him to secure some influence in that quarter of Europe. From him the harassed Emperor was able to secure a contingent of French troops. Thus reinforced, the imperial commander, Montecuculi, seized a defensive position on the Raab, and there—at almost the same moment that the English fleet, as a prelude to the Anglo-Dutch war, took possession of New Amsterdam—was fought one of the decisive engagements of modern times. Unable to force the Austrian position, the Turks were first repulsed, then all but annihilated in the great battle of St. Gothard. Not since Don John of Austria had crushed their naval power at Lepanto a century before had they suffered such a decisive reverse; and, as a result, they were compelled to sign a truce for twenty years. With this the Empire gained a breathing-space for the prosecution of the great enterprises which awaited her elsewhere.

Battle of St. Gothard 1664

Disastrous as was the battle of St. Gothard to the advance of the Turks along the Danube, they were still dangerous. Though they were foiled in their attack on Austria, and compelled to share the suzerainty of Transylvania with Leopold, though their hold on Hungary was shaken, they were far from the end of their aggressions. The year of the Triple Alliance had seen their conquest of Crete despite the aid despatched by Louis XIV to the heroic defenders of its capital. And, four years thereafter, the joint attack of England and France upon Holland was accompanied by a Turkish and Cossack descent upon Poland.

1668

The course of events in these two coincident yet widely diverse conflicts was curiously similar. Each of the states attacked was divided against itself by factions aspiring to control its destinies. Each seemed about to sink beneath the force and treachery of its enemies; and each, in the great crisis of its fate, found a deliverer. For as the Netherlands were saved by the stubborn courage and adroit diplomacy of William III, so Poland was preserved by the military skill of John Sobieski. At the same moment that the Prince of Orange drew together the forces of a second coalition against his great antagonist, at Khoczim the Polish levies, under

The Turks, the Cossacks, and Poland 1672-8

Sobieski's leadership, turned back the tide of barbarism which 1673
threatened their country's existence. And as de Witt had been replaced by William III, so the new Polish hero, sometime a pensioner of the French king, was raised to that precarious throne, against whose former occupant he had conspired. Nor was this all of his great services to Poland and to Europe generally. During the following year, while the Swedes were being beaten at Fehrbellin, and Turenne's conquest of the Palatinate was ended by his death, Sobieski's 1675
victory at Lemberg relieved Poland from the fear of Cossack and Turk alike.

Austria and the Peace of Nymwegen

It was inevitable that this series of events should react on the west. Had Austria during these years been at liberty to direct her full strength to the defense of Germany, the whole career of Louis XIV might have been different. This was at once apparent when the Emperor, relieved of the danger from the Turks, despatched their conqueror, Montecuculi, to face Turenne and co-operate with William III and his allies. The imperial general was no less fortunate on the Rhine than on the Danube. His cannon cost Louis XIV the services of Turenne; his ability manœuvered the French out of Germany; and, as he had earlier saved the eastern borders of the Empire from the Turk he now relieved its western states from the French.

The effect of the Turkish defeats and Montecuculi's success, joined to the activities of the great coalition William III had built, and to the threat of English hostility, proved too great for the French king's resources. It was in vain his diplomats had striven east and west to avert defeat. The Polish throne was occupied by Sobieski, who had become a firm ally of Austria. Not all French urgency availed to move the Turks to break their truce and face again the Poles and the Imperialists. The Hungarians, under Tokölyi, who had signalized his leadership by a medal inscribed "Ludovicus XIV, Galliae Rex, Protector Hungariae," remained in arms against the Emperor. But their power was small, and the unnatural policy which joined Frenchmen, Swedes, Turks, and rebel Hungarians against the rest of Europe broke down before a

coalition which from English Parliamentary opposition on the west to a reviving Empire on the east, combined against the enemy of European peace. Thus were woven the elements of the Peace of Nymwegen on which was wrecked another effort to subordinate Europe to a single power.

CHAPTER XXVI

EUROPE BEYOND THE SEA. 1660-1678

Louis XIV at the Peace of Nymwegen

WITH the treaties of Nymwegen Louis XIV virtually reached the height of his power if not of his ambitions and his prestige. For a decade and a half his armies and his diplomats had disturbed the peace of Europe in an attempt to give France wider boundaries. However slight the handbreadth of territory which was the reward of such an expenditure of blood and treasure, it had required the efforts of half the continent to check his aggressions, and he stood forth, in consequence, the greatest figure of the European world. Yet his desire for fame and power, growing by what it fed on, aspired to fresh triumphs; while France, infected by his spirit of aggrandizement, and filled with the spirit of militant nationality, remained a menace to the quiet of the continent.

Scarcely touched by the religious zeal which had inspired Gustavus and Cromwell, unmoved by the spirit of intellectual and political liberty which found expression in the Netherlands and England, Louis XIV, save in his identification with the principle of nationality, had thus far appeared only as a destructive and reactionary force in the European world. The glamor of military glory and diplomatic pre-eminence, the glitter of a brilliant court, and the splendid burst of intellectual genius which accompanied and lent luster to his reign, could not conceal the great danger to European progress which every triumph that he won brought with it. For the real value of his personal activities and ambitions lay rather in the opposition which they evoked and which was to make their realization impossible. Thus during those momentous years when French armies and French ambassadors dazzled the imagination of the continent and roused the

antagonism of half the sovereigns of Europe, it was in other quarters and in far different hands that the substantial progress of mankind was chiefly conserved and advanced. The Peace of Nymwegen determined not alone the limits of the French king's ambitions, it marked a turning point in the fortunes of the continent, only second in importance to Westphalia.

Opposition to his designs

If, from the commanding eminence which he occupied, Louis XIV's vision had been capable of wider range, he would have seen that the position which he had assumed, despite the apparent greatness which it brought, had permitted his ambition to lead him and his nation into a by-path of European progress. That position was, indeed, the culmination of the older traditions of arbitrary power, of European domination, the apotheosis of kingship as it was then understood. In him that school of thought and practice of government reached its climax. But in the very days of his ascendancy it was in far different fields and very different hands that Europe was turning to other ends. Not in the narrow theater of the Rhineland and the Low Countries, nor in the extension of personal and irresponsible sovereignty, still less in the domination of the continent, lay the important lines of future progress. At the very hour of its apparent triumph the idea of divine right of kings was about to receive a fatal blow. At the very height of its challenge to the control of the destinies of Europe was born the idea of balance of power which made the continued supremacy of any single state impossible. Thus while war and diplomacy seemed to Louis XIV, and to most men besides, the principal business of mankind, the forces of commerce and colonization were altering the foundations of power in regions far beyond his ken, and so re-shaping the bases of government and society.

France beyond the sea

Not that France was without those who perceived the truth far more clearly than the Grand Monarque. At the moment that his energies and those of his subjects were engaged in the struggle for the Low Countries, far from the precincts of his brilliant court, far from France itself, scarcely

heeded by the ruler whom they served, other and humbler Frenchmen were laying foundations for a wider empire than all his European conquests could have won. For, in the years he gave to the attack upon the Netherlands, there was first laid bare, under French auspices, the vast interior of North America, where men aspired to found a new and broader France. While their master contended for the few miles of coveted sea-coast, and his contemporaries in the east hurled back the Turkish hosts, a new chapter was begun in the history of Europe by these daring adventurers.

Colbert 1619-83

What dreams France had of this great exploit were chiefly centered in the far-reaching designs of the minister of finance, Colbert, in whose hands the expanding forces of French commerce and colonies now woke to new life. What enduring achievement France accomplished was chiefly due to him. The new minister personified the altering forces of his time. From a draper's apprentice to service under Mazarin, by him bequeathed to Louis XIV, Colbert had early signalized his advent to power by reorganizing the finances whose condition had been no small cause of French decline during Cromwell's ascendancy, and whose prosperity was a large element in Louis' successes. He established a council of finance and an exchequer court, punished dishonest farmers of the revenue, and arbitrarily scaled down the public debt. He established what was virtually the first system of customs duties or tariff in the modern sense. In twenty years he increased by half the revenues of the state, while decreasing the cost of its collection in even greater proportion, and thus revealed himself as the first great master of modern European public finance.

Nor were his activities confined to the administration of the revenues. Commerce was encouraged; an infinity of industries, especially lace-making and silk-weaving, were added to French resources. Roads were built and supplemented by a network of water communication crowned by the Languedoc canal, which provided France not merely with interior communication but an inland waterway from the Atlantic to the Mediterranean. Thus he filled the first

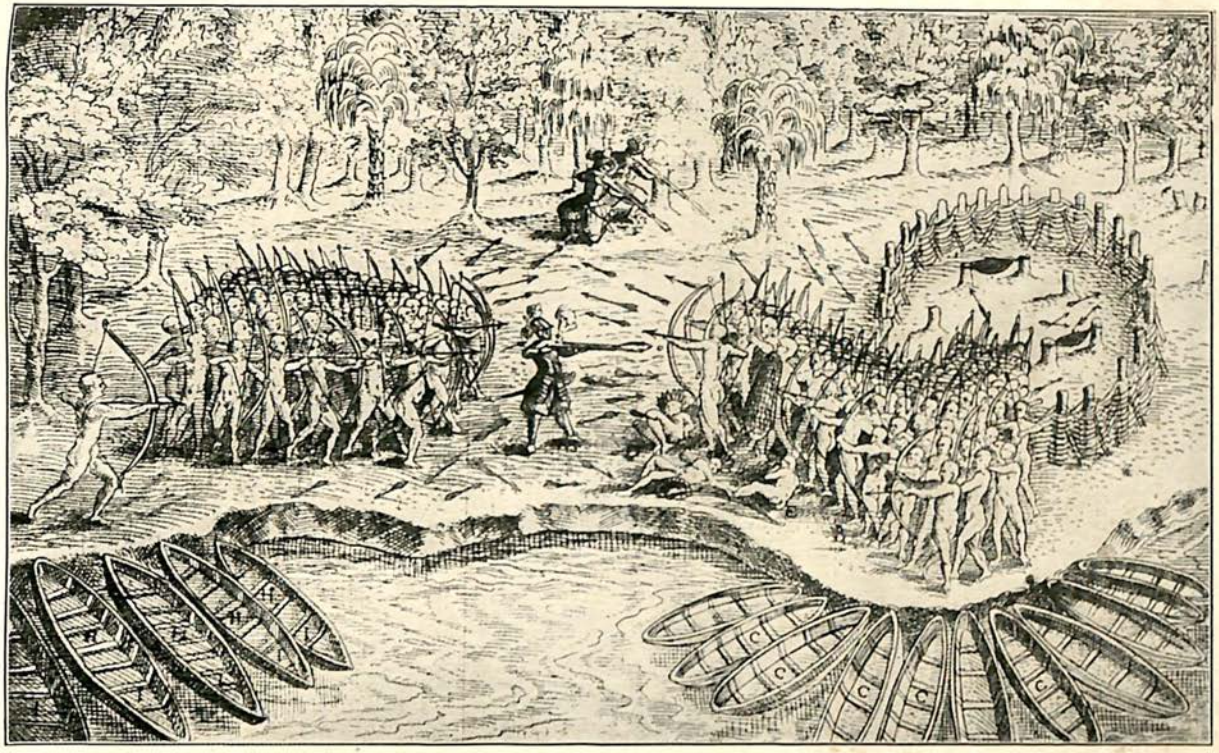
great need of her industry. Created minister of marine, he created in turn a navy, and, in the process of improving the civil laws, enriched them by special codes for the marine and for the colonies. He was no less a patron of learning and the arts, of science and literature, than of the business interests. He founded academies of science, inscriptions, and architecture, and so set France on the way to wider and more enduring successes. And, finally, "persecuted because he had brains without birth by those who had birth without brains," he met his reward in popular execration for the taxes he was compelled to raise, and royal neglect by him for whom he raised them.

His colonial plans

Of all Colbert's many claims to remembrance as one of the founders of modern Europe, not the least is that, amid the clash of arms, he re-founded French colonial empire. It was high time that this was done, if France was ever to play a part beyond the sea. In the first year of Louis XIV's reign the powerful tribe of the Iroquois, who held the lands south of the St. Lawrence and the two most easterly of the Great Lakes of North America, had almost destroyed the slender population of New France, and cut them off from the way to the west and its wealth of furs. To the despairing appeal of the survivors the French government had responded generously. The power of the old company of

1662- the Hundred Associates, into whose hands Richelieu had given the administration of the colony, was replaced by that of the crown. A Sovereign Council was created; a governor and intendant appointed; five hundred colonists were sent out and given maintenance for a year at state expense; and New France became a royal province. For its protection troops were despatched, forts built along the Richelieu, and the Iroquois so severely defeated that they were no longer a menace to the French frontiers or the fur traders. This accomplished, a part of the soldiers was left in garrison, as settlers; more emigrants arrived, including some shiploads of young women; and a premium on marriage established

1668 foundations of a sound colonial society. Thus revived and strengthened, New France took its place among European



CHAMPLAIN'S FIRST FIGHT WITH THE IROQUOIS.

From Champlain's *Voyages*, 1613. By courtesy of the New York Public Library.

colonies as the peculiar product of French royal power, in the first decade of the new king's reign.

Exploration

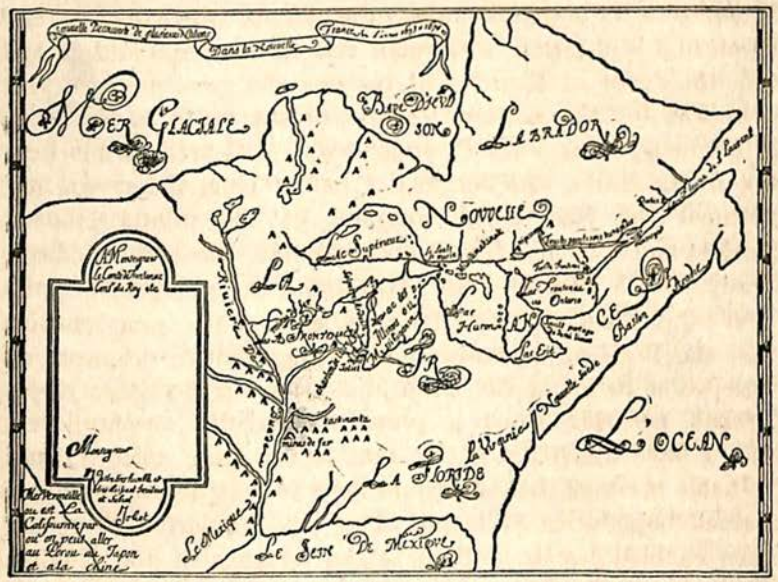
From it three elements almost at once began the extension of French influence westward and northward into the wilderness. As the spirit of colonial enterprise passed from the hands of Portugal and Spain to the other powers; as English and Dutch traders and religious refugees opened the ways of commerce and settlement; French soldiers, priests, and fur-traders vied with each other for the control of this new empire.

It was, above all, to the priests and fur-traders that France owed her empire. Nowhere in the stirring annals of European adventure among savage peoples is the story of their daring and devotion overmatched. A handful of explorers braved almost incredible experiences to open up the interior of North America to French enterprise. The high courage and self-sacrifice of the Jesuits and their followers not only maintained the highest traditions of an order notable for those great qualities: it contributed, perhaps, more than any other single force to the strength of France in America. Radisson and Groseillers had earlier followed the track of Nicolet, and now, as the danger from the Iroquois subsided, the explorer Joliet was despatched along their trail to find the copper deposits about Lake Superior rumors of which had reached Quebec. Returning from an unsuccessful search for that source of wealth, he met a party under Robert, Cavalier de La Salle, who, with Sulpician missionaries accompanying him, had just signalized his entry into the field of exploration by the discovery of that tremendous gorge through which the water of the Great Lakes plunges on its way to the sea, Niagara Falls. Thence, parting from his priestly companions, who retraced Joliet's course to the missions which their predecessors had established on the distant shores of Green Bay, La Salle found his way to the Allegheny. Thereafter he made his way to the river which drains the western slopes of the Allegheny Mountains, now for the first time seen by Europeans, and known as the Ohio. From this momentous journey the intrepid explorer returned to

La Salle

1669-70

lead another expedition northwest to Mackinac, and thence
1679-80 by way of Lake Michigan and the Illinois. There he founded the post of Fort Crèvecœur and sent some of his followers further on, across the vast prairies stretching to and beyond the Father of Waters, which flowed, men thought, either to the southern gulf or to the Pacific. In such fashion was the way into the heart of the continent revealed.



Re-drawing of Joliet's map. The medallion contained the inscription. Compare with Hennepin's map (facing p. 80).

Joliet

Before La Salle had reached his goal New France felt a fresh impulse. Her energetic ruler, Talon, under whose auspices these initial explorations had been carried on, was replaced by the Count de Frontenac, who sent Joliet to find a way to the great river which now became the goal of French exploring enterprise. Joined at Mackinac by a Jesuit missionary, the two found their way to Green Bay, thence by the Fox River to Lake Winnebago, then to and down the Wisconsin. At the same moment that on the eastern edge of
1673 Europe John Sobieski drew his forces to resist the Turks and farther west William III rallied to his support the princes of the continent to check the aggressions of Louis XIV, the

two French adventurers reached the Mississippi River, laid bare the secret of the heart of North America, and, as it was to prove in no long time, widened the area for which their master was to strive against his foes.

The securing of the West

Thereafter, as the great continental war went on, the energies of New France were directed to securing the way into this vast interior. Under the guidance of Frontenac, who brought to its accomplishment the talents which had earlier given him reputation in German and Italian wars and gained him the favor of Maurice of Nassau, the government's first care was for the military control of the route to the west. A seigneury near Fort Frontenac was conferred on his lieutenant, La Salle, who obtained a patent from the crown and planned the commercial conquest of the inland empire. Accompanied by his friend and follower, the Italian officer, Tonty, and a Récollet friar, Hennepin, the great adventurer next established a post at Niagara, and, at the same moment 1679 that the Peace of Nymwegen was being signed, prepared an expedition to bring the Ohio and Mississippi valleys under French control. Such a plan, successfully accomplished, would have given his native land a far more splendid and valuable heritage than she could hope to gain along the blood-stained boundaries at home. Properly supported, it would have enabled her to anticipate the advance of the English sea-coast colonies across the Alleghenies into the hinterland, and make France supreme in North America.

Colbert's plans 1672-8

Some men, even in France, saw the vision. If the ambitions of La Salle and Frontenac had led France to the threshold of a magnificent achievement, the view of the great minister who encouraged and supported them had meanwhile taken an even wider range. At the same moment that the explorers brought the interior of the North American continent under French influence, Colbert embarked upon far-reaching plans of colonial and commercial enterprise, of which even the great exploits of the heroes of New France formed but a part. Beginning with the reorganization of Canada, he sought to rival English and Dutch success in the foundation of trading corporations. The old Northern

or Baltic company and that of the Levant were galvanized into new activity and reinforced by an African company basing its privileges on a treaty negotiated with Algiers. The moribund Senegal Association, ceding some of its privileges to a French West India corporation, was transformed into a new body; while the societies trading to the east were fused into a French East India Company under whose auspices it was proposed to enter the Persian field and open relations with Madagascar. At the same time the various interests in the west from Canada to St. Christopher were combined in the hands of the French West India Company. Thus equipped, with a naval force prepared to protect the commerce which this burst of company promotion was expected to pour into France, Colbert planned to challenge the Anglo-Dutch monopoly of colonial and commercial enterprise.

French expansion

But the ambitious plans which were to have brought French power about the Atlantic from Quebec to the Cape of Good Hope and extend its influence through the nearer and the farther East, were destined to brief existence. The temper of the times, the ambitions of the monarch whom Colbert served, and, above all, the genius of his people, did not lend themselves to the devices which brought fortune and empire to England and the Netherlands. Like Spain and Portugal, France achieved her ends by different means. A few years of unsuccessful experiment and the colonies were united to the crown. Yet the efforts of Colbert and his lieutenants were by no means wholly vain. The expeditions of French traders and missionaries not merely widened the bounds of their country's knowledge and power; they poured into her markets a tremendous wealth of furs. More important still, from the standpoint of her rulers, they secured an increasing influence over the Indian tribes, providing allies who enabled her to maintain pretensions to the interior of North America for three-quarters of a century, and a position which otherwise would soon have become untenable. The development of the marine reinforced the warlike ambitions of the king and brought into existence a navy which in a dozen years was able to challenge even English supremacy on the sea.

HENNEPIN'S MAP OF NORTH AMERICA. Compare with the Joliet map, p. 78.

The impetus given by Colbert's efforts in behalf of the sugar industry in the French West Indies not merely drew from that source an increasing stream of the coveted colonial product. Within a century it made those islands, in proportion to their size, the most valuable colonial possession in the world.

Such was the contribution of the French to the expansion of Europe beyond the sea in the years that her master struck for the domination of the continent. But, great as it was, French energy by no means absorbed all the importance of European activities in that field during this momentous period. Spain and Portugal, indeed, had been stricken from the list of leaders in Europe's conquering advance. England and Holland had replaced them; and these, however involved in the designs of Louis XIV, however overshadowed for the moment by the discoveries of the French, were still to be reckoned with. They were, in fact, at a turning-point in their affairs. Both at the moment faced a crisis in their domestic concerns no less than in their fortunes as world powers. And if Louis XIV stood for the spirit of national monarchy which had succeeded the struggle for politico-religious supremacy, the Anglo-Dutch powers represented no less the spirit of colonial-commercial dominance, which was the second great element in late seventeenth century polity.

Holland and England oversea 1672-8

In that struggle Cromwell had already struck a decisive blow and laid down the lines for the economic warfare which preceded, caused, and accompanied the appeal to arms. The renewal of the Navigation Act on Charles II's accession to the throne gave notice to the world that England had not abandoned the Cromwellian policy of commercial exclusiveness. A succession of like measures which ensued, at once committed the English to those protective principles which crystallized into the so-called mercantile system, and brought her again and yet again into conflict with the Dutch. In opposition to that policy of high protection, despite Holland's ability to contend on fairly equal terms by sea, the lesser nation could hardly be expected to endure, weakened as it was, meanwhile, by French attack. The first decade and a

1660-75 half of Charles II's reign was the period when England took Holland's place in the commercial and colonial world. And it is a fact not unworthy of note that the second and third Anglo-Dutch wars, like the first—and in perhaps still greater measure—originated not within but without Europe. Each was preceded by naval engagements off the African or the American coasts. The great prize of the wars, New Amsterdam or New York, was actually seized and occupied by the English before the outbreak of hostilities in European waters. So early and so great was the influence of the extra-European world upon the course of European politics at home.

But what Holland's courage and resources could scarcely have accomplished, the ill-fortune of her principal enemy once more achieved. To the fear of the Cromwellians which had long possessed the English mind succeeded the greater fear of French and Catholic predominance. The ill-advised activity of a part of the English Catholics reinforced the alarm caused by the advance of the French into the Netherlands. Before these dangers even economic rivalry had declined. The growing opposition in the nation compelled peace with Holland, and forced on the reluctant king the mar-
1678 riage of the Princess Mary to William III. The most famous agitation of history, the Popish Plot, inflamed England to madness against the Catholics; and among the many threads which were gathered up at Nymwegen, not the least was the beginning of an Anglo-Dutch connection, which, concluding their long-lived rivalry, was destined to become a turning-point of European history. Thus, with the division of English Protestantism into opposing camps and the ensuing evolution of the party system of parliamentary government, and with the growing power of the Commons in finance and foreign affairs, began a revolution not alone in English but in European affairs which was to be extended into the whole world of politics.

The decline of Holland

Beside the establishment of such far-reaching relationships and institutions of the maritime states, even the successive wars and treaties in which they were involved sank into relative insignificance. Nor was the period less notable for

its effect on the balance of power throughout the world which hung upon their respective authority. The causes of the decline of Holland and the concurrent rise of England lay largely outside the circumstances of their wars with each other, and in some measure even beyond their relations with the other continental powers. The situation was not much altered by the misfortunes of the Dutch. Beyond the transfer of New Amsterdam,—itself a source of no great revenue in comparison with the profits of the eastern trade,—Holland had suffered scarcely any territorial losses. The chief sources of her wealth had not been seriously impaired; while the recovery of Pularoon, the strengthening of her hold on African ports, and the virtual recognition of her monopoly of trade with the farther East and the Spice Islands—which were confirmed by the last peace with England—seemed only to make her more secure.

Her losses

None the less she had suffered an absolute decline in two directions, moral and financial, and a relative loss of position as compared with her chief rival. Save for the narrow strip of Surinam and her scattered West Indian possessions, the long succession of reverses which had begun with her expulsion from Brazil and ended with the conclusion of the conflict with England, saw her authority extinguished throughout the western hemisphere. At the same time the English, by securing their hold on the North American coast, from Florida to Acadia, became the dominating influence in that region. Nor was this all. The loss of Pernambuco and of New Amsterdam, despite the indemnity of eight million florins which the former yielded, and the privilege of Brazilian trade which remained to it, dealt a death-blow to the Dutch West India Company. Compelled to dispose of its interests to the Company of Surinam, the corporation, which in fifty years had won and lost an empire and contributed in no small degree to its country's independence, passed out of existence. At almost the same moment the expulsion of Dutch factors from Formosa by a Chinese adventurer left them no port in the China Sea. And though their Nagasaki post remained to them, the terrible revolt of

1678

the Japanese Christians which shook the throne before it was suppressed, weakened their position in the island kingdom, at the same moment that they lost their principal posts in the Americas.

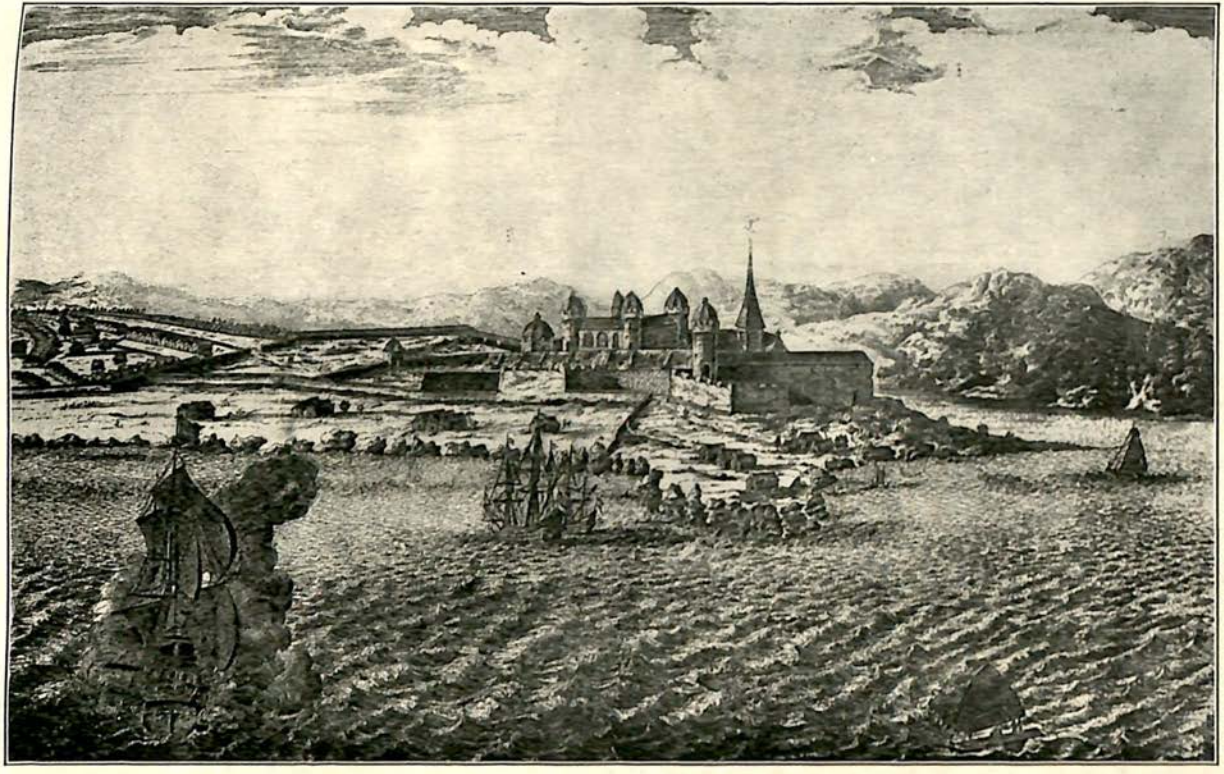
Organization of the Dutch trading empire 1658

But with the two extremities of their empire lopped off, their hold on what remained became the more secure. The "frontier fortress of India," the Cape of Good Hope, was reinforced and fortified. The Portuguese were expelled from Ceylon and the absolute monopoly of its trade assured; and, while they still disputed with the English for possession of Java and the Sumatra trade, there had already begun that virtual division between the rival powers which ended with Dutch supremacy in the Spice Islands and England's advance in the Indian peninsula. Under the authority of the government at Batavia, eight governorships—Amboyna, Banda, Ternate, Macassar, Ceylon, Malacca, Java, and the Cape—with posts in Bengal and along the Coromandel coast, in Siam, Surat, and Bandar Abbas, rounded out the imposing and highly profitable possessions of the Dutch East India Company. Thus narrowing the scope of their activities, relieved from the pressure of English rivalry by mutual accommodation and union of their ruling families and national interests, the Dutch withdrew from the pursuit of power and devoted themselves to dividends. Thenceforth their activities were confined to the intensive cultivation of what remained to them, and, inevitably drawn into England's train by their converging interests, they ceased to be a leading force in European politics. Rich, indolent, secure, Holland thenceforth declined to insignificance.

1667-97

English expansion 1660-78

Meanwhile, England's position in the world greatly improved. Though her sovereign had long been harnessed by a golden chain to the French king's chariot, and the terror which Cromwell inspired on the continent had given way to the contempt inspired by Charles' rule, the Restoration had proved an important period in her history. As the lustful extravagance of the king increased the power of Parliament, so her rivals' absorption in European war gave her an opportunity to exercise her talents in a wider field. In conse-



THE PORTUGUESE POST OR "FACTORY" AT S. JORGE DE MINA ON THE GUINEA COAST.

From Dapper's *Atlas*, 1676. Compare with the picture of the fortress at Calicut, Vol. I, p. 156.

quence, whatever her humiliations in foreign affairs, her colonial and commercial interests flourished, and however contemptible she appeared to her neighbors at home, beyond the sea she played a different part. For as the reign of Elizabeth had been the age of courtier-privateers, that of Charles II was the age of courtier-promoters.

The East India Company

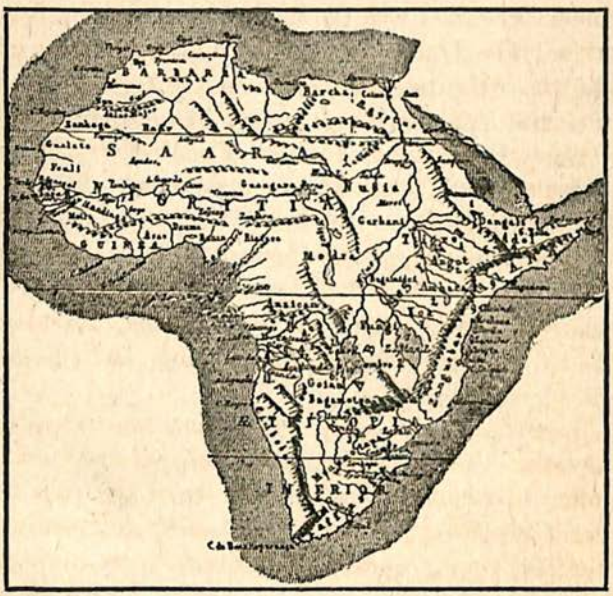
The impulse to the activities on which the real importance of England in foreign affairs during the Restoration depends, was due in large measure both in colonial and in parliamentary affairs to the same elements which had inspired the Puritan régime. Beginning with the enactment of the Navigation Laws, there came a burst of activity in those fields which revolutionized the whole colonial establishment. Its most immediate results were seen in India. Among the first acts of Charles had been the issue of a new charter to the East India Company. This, with his marriage to the Portuguese princess, Catherine of Braganza—who brought as part of her dowry Tangier and Bombay—gave English enterprise new impetus and direction. Tangier, indeed, disappointed the expectations of those who saw in it a key to the Mediterranean, and after two decades was abandoned; but Bombay was destined to become a bulwark of the British empire of India. With it the company's establishment now comprised the Presidency of Bantam with Jambi, Macassar, and lesser posts in the eastern archipelago; the Presidency of Madras, or Fort St. George, with its dependencies, of which Surat was chief; and Gambroon, which divided the trade of the Persian Gulf with the Dutch post of Bandar Abbas and the Portuguese post of Ormuz. This, though it scarcely rivaled, as yet, Holland's far-flung empire of trading-posts, was neither weak nor unprofitable.

1661

The Royal African Company 1660-78

From their new vantage point of Bombay, whose wharves and dockyards soon offered facilities for an increasing commerce, the English strove to extend their operations through Siam, Tonquin, Formosa, and China to Japan, whence their Dutch rivals were being driven out. Nor was this the sole result of the Portuguese marriage and the development of Asiatic commerce. Hard on the re-chartering of the East

India Company, that group of interests and individuals, which, under various forms, had long striven for control of
1662-3 the Guinea trade, was reorganized as the Royal Company of Adventurers, or the Royal African Company, as it was better known, with the king's brother at its head and the king him-



Africa, re-drawn from the Atlas prepared by Dapper in 1676, and showing the 17th century knowledge of the coast and interior. (From Jacobs's *The Story of Geographical Discovery*, courtesy of D. Appleton & Company.)

self as a stockholder. From its long conflict with the Dutch came much of the bitter hostility which led to the wars with the Netherlands; and though it was ruined by the second of those wars for which it was so largely responsible, it was
1672 again reorganized, with the king's cousin, Prince Rupert, among its directors. The decline of Dutch power enabled it to establish factories along the Gold Coast and to extend British influence throughout Guinea. There it soon rivaled

the Portuguese in the traffic which gave the Slave Coast its unenviable name, while the coinage of those gold pieces, "guineas," so-called, which took their name from the new source of precious metals, emphasized its growing interest in English eyes.

England in America

Important as were these movements, two other circumstances in this period were of more immediate and no less ultimate significance. The first was the development of English power in America. The Dutch wars had done more than give her control of the Atlantic coast between the territories claimed for France and Spain and put in her hands the great harbor of New Amsterdam, re-named New York. Far to the north, indeed, England for the time abandoned her efforts to hold the St. Lawrence mouth. But far to the south, from Virginia and Barbados, almost simultaneously, emigrants began to make their way into the region between Virginia and Florida, which, chartered and organized as Carolina, added another province to the broadening bounds of British-American empire. 1663

Hudson's Bay Company

More important still were the concurrent developments in the Arctic. The explorer Radisson, discredited by his countrymen, to whom he first bore news of the rich fur field of the great northwest, had found his way to Boston and so to the English court, whose adventurers, with those of London, turned their attention to the region which fifty years before Hudson had found and named. Scarcely had the 1667 first Dutch war been brought to a close when a royal ship was despatched thither to find means to compete with the French traffic in furs. Fort Charles was founded at the mouth of a stream called Rupert's River, and a beginning made in barter with the natives for the coveted treasures of the northern forests. Other ships followed the lead thus given, and, within three years, a charter was issued to Prince 1670 Rupert and his associates as the "Governor and Company of Adventurers trading to Hudson's Bay." Under such auspices, at the same moment that the French outflanked the English on the west by occupying the central valley of the continent, the English, in turn, took the French colonies in

the rear, and opened up the empire of the great north-west.

The English colonies in North America 1660-78

Meanwhile, another series of events profoundly influenced the British Empire in America. This was the situation which developed in the older colonies. Fortunately for them, the English settlers, save in their earliest years, had not been called upon to face the fierce native resistance which Spanish and Portuguese, or even the French had encountered. Virginia, indeed, fared hardly for a time, but New England, apart from French and Indian forays, had been exceptionally peaceful. Its Indian tribes were few and feeble as compared even with the Iroquois; beside the Aztecs and Incas, much less the states of India and the East, they were contemptible. In consequence, the only conflict worthy the name of war which the New England settlers had thus far endured—the rebellion of a native chief, King Philip so-

1675-6

called—was magnified beyond its real importance, and produced almost as great an expenditure of ink as of blood.

Free speech, indeed, early became a peculiar characteristic of the colonies. Removed from the immediate pressure of their home government, they were, at all times, freer to express their minds, while they felt themselves important beyond their actual numbers and wealth by virtue of their unique and illimitable opportunities. These sentiments were reinforced by all the independence of the pioneer, and further strengthened by the increasing numbers of immigrants fleeing from French conquest and German Catholic persecution. In consequence, what the North American colonies lacked in native hostilities they made up in an antagonism to home authorities, which was at once a reminiscence of their origin and a prophecy of their future. The more immediate causes of the conflicts which now arose were the outgrowth of the mother country's domestic politics. It was to be expected, after twenty years of English revolution, that the Restoration should bring reorganization not only at home but in colonial affairs. It was perhaps as natural that, in addition to the efforts to restore the royal power throughout the Empire, the royal favorites should be rewarded; and it was no less to

be expected that the colonists, accustomed to a large measure of self-government, should resist any attempt at the curtailment of their rights and privileges.

Their reorganization 1660-78

From these elements, therefore, resulted the third set of events which characterized English expansion during this period. The extension of the Navigation Acts to include all goods carried between England and her colonies was accompanied by administrative reorganization. The re-establishment of crown authority in Virginia in the person of the old royal governor, Berkeley, was followed by the restoration of proprietary rule, and the quit-rents and escheats of that province were granted to Lords Culpepper and Arlington. At the same time Connecticut and New Haven were joined under the terms of a new charter; as were Rhode Island and Providence; while Lord Baltimore was confirmed in the possession of Maryland. The efforts of Massachusetts to secure control of the Gorges inheritance of Maine were accompanied by a revision of its own patent. The assumption of the Cromwellian prize of Jamaica was signalized by the appointment of a governor with power to call and constitute an assembly. The conquest of New Amsterdam transferred it to the Duke of York, and the neighboring territory between the Hudson and the Delaware was conferred by him upon his followers, Berkeley and Carteret. The Bahamas were conferred on the proprietors of Carolina.

1664

All this, with a grant of Carolina to the minister Clarendon and his associates, and its organization under the fantastic provisions of a "Fundamental Constitution"—drawn up by the political philosopher, John Locke—within a dozen years after the Restoration, put the whole North American establishment on a new footing.

Their protest

It did far more; it roused the bitterest hostility among the colonists. Massachusetts and Connecticut protested against the new arrangements with a violence just short of revolution. The latter opposed by force of arms the efforts of the governor of New York, Andros, to extend his jurisdiction to the east; and in Virginia the resistance to proprietary rule compelled the crown to commute the proprietary rights

into a tobacco duty. Worse followed. Roused by the Indian policy of the tyrannical governor, which revived the long-standing antagonism between the conservatism of the older "tide-water" aristocratic element and the advancing frontiersmen who desired rapid expansion, the colonists rose in
1676 rebellion. The revolt destroyed Jamestown and only ended with the death of its leader, Bacon. It was only too evident that the policy of grants to court favorites, and even the far more defensible plan of colonial amalgamation and reorganization, would have to be abandoned unless the English government was prepared to put down resistance by force.

The settlement

Under such circumstances it resorted to other measures. Commissioners were despatched to investigate and secure crown rights in Maine and New Hampshire, enforce the Navigation Acts, and inquire into the courts and the relations of the colonists with the Indian tribes. In the face of continued disturbances a further and more important step was presently taken. This was the reorganization of the central authority. Colonial affairs, which had long been administered by committees of the royal council, were now combined with those of foreign trade, and, under the guid-
1675-8 ance of the Earl of Shaftesbury, who represented at once the Nonconformists, the opposition and the commercial element in politics, there was contrived a Board of Trade and Plantations, with Shaftesbury himself at its head.

The arrangement was, indeed, short-lived. The great political leader, who, with all his faults, best represented the two chief principles of the coming age of his country's rise to eminence,—the supremacy of Parliament with its control by parties, and its world-wide commercial policy,—soon fell from place if not from power. The Whig Party, which he organized in opposition to the Tories who developed from the court, did not secure control of government in his lifetime. But when, within a half dozen years, the revolution, which cost the Stuarts their throne, brought William III to the head of English affairs, the Whig Party which Shaftesbury formed was the chief gainer by the change of which it had

been the chief promoter. The commercial policy which they had inherited from their progenitors, the Cromwellians, came in their hands, as a consequence, to be a prime factor in the politics of the world. In it the reorganizing policy which proved so disastrous to the Stuarts came to its fruition, and the instruments designed to re-shape the Empire were at last perfected.

Results of the period 1660-78

Such were the chief lines of development in the European world in the eventful eighteen years which intervened between the accession of Louis XIV and the Peace of Nymwegen. If they appeared largely political rather than cultural, if the clash of arms and the negotiations of the diplomats seem to bulk larger in the story of the period, it is because these occupied a place, not greater, perhaps, than hitherto, but of a different character. For the first time the extra-European causes of European war were openly avowed. Commerce and colonies frankly became the prizes of success, the subject of treaties, a chief concern of statesmen. Thus war, in one view, became the servant of economics as it had earlier been of religion, and as it was of royalty and nationality then and thereafter. Of its achievements the advance of France, the repulse of the Turks, and the transfer of Dutch North America to English hands were the chief fruits. Yet even these yielded in importance to the development of English party government, the exploration of the North American interior, and the division of the world into new spheres of European influence by which they were accompanied. For amid the innumerable activities of a broadening Europe, those which concerned themselves but little with either war or diplomacy or government, with commerce or colonies, raised the race to new levels of capacity and influence. Great as were the activities of the Grand Monarque in the fields which were still regarded as the most honorable, and so the chief prerogative of kings, the progress of his own people, as well as that of their rivals, was making the foundations of civilization more secure than all his triumphs in war and diplomacy.

For it is the advance of arts rather than the clash of arms

which makes the Age of Louis XIV, if not so memorable, at least more useful to mankind than the quarrels over the border lands between France and her neighbors. One may not be able to determine the relative importance of the acquisition of Alsace and the establishment of political parties, the rise of Brandenburg or the discoveries of La Salle. But it is certainly true that, without the intellectual and political progress of this period, the military activities of European rulers, apart from the repulse of the Turkish power, would have been as fruitless as the barbarous conflicts between the Hurons and the Iroquois. For only in so far as supremacy in arms contributes to the advance of civilization in a nation, or its defense against less civilized opponents, can it be regarded as superior to the struggle for power between two savage tribes, if progress toward what we call a higher civilization be regarded as the chief end of man's striving. In that view, the extension of popular government and its devices in England, the extension of European authority and population in lands hitherto outside of European influence, and the repulse of Cossack and Turkish power, must be reckoned of greater importance than the aggrandizement of Louis XIV.

None the less, the age to which historians have agreed to attach his name was a great period in European development, and the French king a noteworthy figure in the world's affairs. For of the two forces which make for political betterment, liberty and efficiency, his rule contributed much to the latter, and, indirectly, by the opposition which his ambitions roused, to the former. In like degree his far-reaching designs did much to keep alive that sense of common interest, that unity in diversity among the threatened peoples of the continent, which has become the principal characteristic of international relationships. Finally, in so far as it aroused the French national ambitions in arts as well as arms, and stimulated the progress of what had come to be the most civilized society in Europe, that of France, promoted its ideals and inspired emulation among its neighbors to achieve like triumphs, it did much to mitigate the evils which its ruler's

ambitions brought in their train. For long after those ambitions proved impossible of realization, the more humane ideals and practices of his countrymen made way upon the continent, and played their part in its advance toward higher forms of social and intellectual expression.

CHAPTER XXVII

THE AGE OF WILLIAM III. 1678-1702

France 1675-1700

No circumstance better illustrates the fact that at any given moment men do not know whither they are tending than the position of the French monarchy in the concluding decades of the seventeenth century, and the views then generally held of its predominance. To most western European rulers nothing seemed more certain than that France had solved the age-long problem of government. From the confusion of more than a century had emerged an efficient, powerful, centralized kingship, ensuring stable and peaceful administration at home and pre-eminence abroad; the model and the terror of adjoining states, the single, all-pervasive element in international affairs, the most active agent of territorial expansion beyond the sea. Beside it England, escaped from one revolution and tending toward another, the Hapsburg monarchy, threatened by Turkish invasion and internal dissension, decadent Spain, half-Asiatic Russia, the declining power of Sweden and the Netherlands, ill compared. Probably no man in Europe, looking forward twenty years, could have foreseen that the political balance of the European world was even then trembling in an unstable equilibrium which was to be altered by one of the most extraordinary convulsions in its troubled history.

Louis XIV

Least of all, perhaps, could Louis XIV have figured the future to himself; for at this moment he embarked upon two enterprises which at once typified his own spirit and emphasized his resemblance to Philip II. The one was the erection of the palace of Versailles, which he began on the completion of the Louvre, to provide the monarchy with an appropriate habitation, separated from all contact with the world of its subjects. Like Philip II, the French king chose

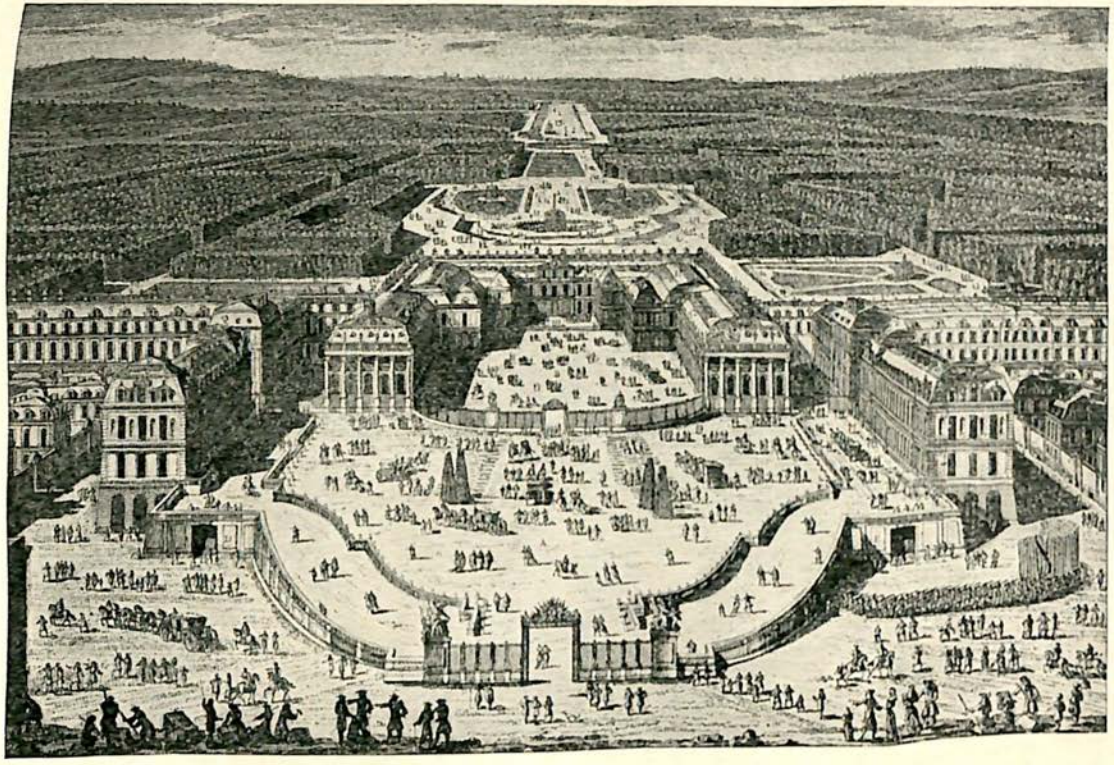
a site removed some distance from his capital. Like the Escorial, Versailles owed nothing to nature, for the flat, sterile, and uninteresting plain selected for its location was as unpromising as the gloomy wilderness the Spanish king chose for his abode. There the resemblance ceased. For if Philip's palace reflected even in its plan the deep religious character of its master, if its massive and gloomy pile in some sort symbolized the spirit which it was built to house, and the genius of the people which gave it birth, the equally imposing but infinitely lighter and more worldly Versailles typified at once the altered standards of a new period and a new authority, no less than the character and taste of its master and his subjects. Versailles

Still more did the new palace and its surroundings reflect that spirit of authority which, having made itself supreme over its people, transferred to the realm of art and nature its determination to dominate not only men but the more stubborn quality of material circumstance. Disregarding the simplest law of architecture that a building should rise, as it were, from the soil and partake of the character of its surroundings, the French king elected to create surroundings fit for the palace he designed to build. The sandy waste which lacked nearly every element necessary to support life was provided with those elements by royal authority. Under its surface miles of pipes conducted to every part of the domain, water drawn thither at vast expense through great mains for a hundred miles. The soil was created for gardens. The very horizon was limited by plantations, so that, whichever way one looked, he saw only the triumph of royalty over nature—nor was he embarrassed by contemplation of the dwellings of the poor. The site thus prepared by the foremost engineers of France, the genius of the most eminent of living landscape gardeners, le Nôtre, was summoned to adorn it, and the result of his labors was the most splendid if not the most beautiful pleasaunce in Europe. From the slight elevation, upon which stood the old hunting-lodge of Louis XIV, the ground was made to fall away in every direction. Behind the château lay the formal gardens, whose

long alleys of grass and trees, adorned with statuary, led to the magnificent fountains and the huge Grand Canal which formed the center of the scheme. On every hand the eye was led along splendid vistas to delightful retreats of shade; while the ingenuity of French sculptors and hydraulic engineers combined to produce a series of fountains unequaled in the world.

The palace itself, standing at the entrance to this paradise of gardens, was built about the hunting-lodge which had long preceded it; and was worthy, at least in size and pretensions, to its setting. Built in French Renaissance style, it was vast and imposing, if not distinguished; and though the talents of Mansart were unequal to conceiving real grandeur or the highest beauty, the result was certainly the largest and perhaps the most impressive piece of royal architecture on the continent. To this were added, at intervals throughout the grounds, other buildings of less size but greater charm, the Grand and Petit Trianon, the Orangery, and, at the entrance of the great court, a heroic statue of Louis XIV. That motive was repeated indefinitely. In the pictures which adorned the walls, in the statuary which relieved them, in the mirrors which reflected the figure of the king himself, the dominating note was everywhere the glory of the Grand Monarque.

Had he been able to inspire those who served his will in the realm of art with that spontaneous genius which is only the offspring of liberty of thought, he might have made Versailles and all France the most inspiring as it was the most imposing monument of despotism. That gift was denied him. The dignity and ceremonial of the court stifled originality. The painters, like the philosophers, could not be taught to march with the beat of the drum; and art, under royal patronage, achieved its triumphs in the delineation of splendid drapery and magnificent costume rather than in the portrayal of character. Architecture, even literature, tended to follow the same course; and the Age of Louis XIV, with all its splendor of form, did much to deprive genius of its one indispensable quality, freedom of spirit. Without that



VERSAILLES.

From a contemporary engraving in the British Museum.

quality those arts dependent on royal or courtly patronage tended toward the formalism which became the characteristic not only of this but of the succeeding period. And of this Versailles was at once the symbol and the type.

The Revocation of the Edict of Nantes 1685

The erection of this splendid retreat for the most splendid of European monarchs was not the only, nor even the greatest event in those years of his reign which followed immediately on the Peace of Nymwegen. It was not the only circumstance which emphasized his resemblance to the Spanish ruler who became the champion of Catholicism. The differences between them were largely superficial, the resemblances largely fundamental. No single act of Philip II had been more characteristic of his character and policy than his expulsion of the heretics and the strengthening and extension of the Inquisition in his domains. No part of his policy was more striking and more disastrous than his effort to impose his will and his belief upon the Netherlands; no phase of European politics more decisive than the resultant conflict between Spain and the Protestant powers of England and Holland. Nor was the situation without its personal side. Louis XIV's mother was the daughter of Philip III of Spain, and it is not inconceivable that he inherited from her and from the influence she brought into France something of that religious spirit and that formalism which distinguished her grandfather, Philip II.

As the seventeenth century wore to a close and the authority of Louis XIV rose to its height, the absolute Catholicism of France ventured on the same stroke of state as its Spanish predecessor had attempted a century earlier. It was nearly a hundred years since Louis XIV's grandfather, Henry IV, had issued the edict of Nantes which secured to French Protestants political equality. Now, inspired by diverse motives,—his Catholic subjects' jealousy of their Huguenot rivals in trade, his own religious tendencies, strengthened by the influence of his confessor and that of a new and deeply religious mistress,—the disabilities which had pressed harder on the Huguenots year by year since his accession, were crowned, some seven years after the Peace of Nymwegen, by

the revocation of the great Edict, and the consequent dispersion of the Huguenots.

The dispersion of the Huguenots 1685-8

Perhaps no single circumstance of the time had wider consequences than this ill-judged piece of persecution. The French Protestants were a numerous, rich, and industrious element, and they bore with them to every corner of the European world their wealth and skill to strengthen the enemies of France, and deepen the fear and hatred of her king and his faith. London welcomed their silk-weavers. The Great Elector invited them to populate the thinly settled lands of Brandenburg. The English colonies in North America and the Dutch settlements in South Africa were reinforced by the addition of this vigorous element. Above all, Holland profited, for William III recruited his power with the talents of men like the great general, Marshal Schomberg, and the no less eminent diplomat, Ruvigny. These, with their fellows, were soon to play a great part in the drama of war and politics. For they brought to the Netherlands thousands of citizens and soldiers at the very moment that liberal and Protestant states, with others, neither liberal nor Protestant, rallied to resist the pretensions of the recognized champion of Catholic absolutism.

In a peculiar sense the dispersion of the Huguenots typifies the conflict now coming to a head between the spiritual no less than the material forces of the continent. On the one hand were arrayed the powers of the old establishment, the throne and altar, the statecraft which reckoned lands and peoples as the mere pawns and prizes of the great game of war and diplomacy, the ecclesiastical system which maintained its old pretensions to dictate its beliefs to individual consciences, the absolutism which aspired to be supreme not only within but without its own borders. On the other stood the principles of self-government, and independence of belief, of toleration, and of the right of individuals and communities to determine the bases of their own existence.

Above all, perhaps, there was the introduction of new elements of thought and practice into fields where they had long been denied recognition by authority, and the enlist-

ment of forces not hitherto reckoned in the calculations of the state. It was no mere accident that the discoverer of the law of gravitation was intrusted with the reorganization of England's coinage; that the leader of the English opposition was chief among the deists of his day; that Leibnitz became the Hanoverian ambassador to France; that Colbert lured Huyghens to adorn the learned circle which centered in Paris. Whatever the future relations between religion and politics, there had begun the connection between science and affairs, between power and knowledge, and the decline of persecution for heterodox beliefs which were not associated with politics. Thus the flight of the Huguenots which spread their skill through Europe and her colonies, marked the final act in the emancipation of the continent from its older conception of politics and economy. For the dispersion was the last attempt made by any west-European power to drive from its midst any such body of its people who were at variance with the official faith of their government.

The Turkish invasion

The Revocation of the Edict of Nantes was but one of many notable circumstances which marked the years when French monarchy dominated the European situation. At the same moment that Louis XIV signalized his power and his short-sighted bigotry by expelling the Huguenots, two events of widely different character and at the opposite ends of Europe altered the whole complexion of the European polity and joined with the action of Louis XIV to precipitate another conflict. The one was the renewed activity of the Turks. In the years between the Peace and the Revocation their forces were again summoned by the talents and determination of the Grand Vizier, Kara Mustapha, last of the Kiuprilis, to take advantage of an invitation from the insurgent Hungarian nobility and hurl themselves again upon the bulwark of Europe, the Hapsburg lands. Their initial successes brought them across Transylvania and Hungary to the walls of Vienna, whose heroic resistance under the command of 1683
Rüdiger von Stahremberg checked their advance. Even its strength might not have availed; but to its rescue hurried Charles of Lorraine with a German army and the king of

Poland, John Sobieski. With their aid, seconded by the German princes and Venice, the invaders were repulsed. Four years later Charles conquered Hungary in the decisive
1687 victory of Mohacs. The Turks were deprived of its suzerainty, the insurgent nobles suppressed, and the iron crown of St. Stephen, symbol of Hungarian sovereignty, was confirmed to the rulers of Austria. Venice joined with Poland and the Empire against the Porte, and conquered the Morea; Russia entered the war; Buda Pesth was taken by the Imperialists, and the Turkish menace was effectively repulsed.

The overthrow of the Whigs

Scarcely was this accomplished when the other extremity of the continent witnessed the first act of the great drama which was to absorb its interest for a generation. This was the crisis which overtook English politics as a result of the struggle between the Whigs and the crown. It began at the moment of the Turkish revival, with an attempt to prevent the accession to the throne of the king's brother, the Catholic
1680-1 James, Duke of York. The failure of an Exclusion Bill, designed to accomplish this end by parliamentary means, was followed by a conspiracy; and its discovery ruined the party whose members were concerned in it. Some perished on the scaffold. The Whig leader, Shaftesbury, fled to Holland,
1685 where he died. Charles II triumphed; and, in the year of the revocation, his brother, James II, became king of England, prepared with all the stubborn bigotry of a dull intellect to compel a nation stirred by the Protestant persecution in France to accept Catholicism at least on an equality with its established church.

The renewal of French aggression 1680-3

At the same time another circumstance contributed to the coming storm. The French king, taking advantage of the distraction of the eastern states, the quiescence of the north, and the confusion of English politics, resumed his course of aggression. Establishing so-called Chambers of Reunion, which decreed the annexation to France of all border territories which by any stretch of fact or fiction might be claimed by the French crown, his armies scarcely waited on the legal farce to occupy Strassburg and invade German Alsace, Lor-

raine, and Luxembourg. Such were the events which combined to plunge Europe again into war.

The Revolution of 1688

Despite the League of Augsburg formed against him by his great antagonist, William III, despite English hostility to his policy, despite the hatred his aggressions had aroused, and his treatment of the Huguenots, it seemed for the moment that Louis XIV's high-handed policy would be successful. Without England, Louis' enemies were hard put to make head against his power, and the accession of James seemed to make English aid impossible. But what William's ability could not accomplish, his father-in-law's folly did for him. The efforts of James to force the recognition of Catholicism upon a hostile people infuriated the Anglicans and Nonconformists, dismayed the more moderate English Catholics, and alarmed even the Vatican. Popular discontent found expression in a rebellion headed by James' illegitimate half-brother, the Duke of Monmouth, and the greatest of Scotch Covenanting nobles, Argyle. These hastened from their refuge in Holland to strike a blow against the crown. Their failure was followed by a reign of terror; and that by even more violent efforts of the king to make Catholicism not merely equal but superior to the Anglican establishment. Conspiracy followed. Whigs and Tories united to invite William of Orange to save them from Catholicism and arbitrary government. Hundreds of English refugees hurried to enlist in the Dutch service, and, completing the plans for his great exploit with such care and secrecy as to deceive even the most experienced of French diplomats, three years after James' accession to the throne, William invaded England at the head of a formidable force. To his standard flocked the principal men of the country; and James, deserted by his followers, his friends, and at last by his own family, fled to France.

1685

Nov. 5 1688

The Bill of Rights 1689

It was a fatal error. A Convention Parliament declared his flight an abdication, and offered the throne to William and Mary, accompanying the offer with a Declaration of Rights, which marked an epoch in the history of parliamentary government. It secured, once for all, the personal lib-

erty of the subject, the independence of the judiciary, the right of jury-trial, *habeas corpus*, freedom of speech, and frequent and regular Parliaments. Its acceptance by the joint sovereigns crowned that long struggle for the rights of the governed which had begun with Magna Charta and had been continued with the popular triumphs of the period of the civil wars. But, however bloodless the English revolution proved in England itself, the victory of Parliament over the crown—complicated as it was by the situation which had brought Louis XIV's greatest antagonist to the English throne—was not to be won without war. There remained to be dealt with Scotland and Ireland, supported by the power of the French king; and there began, in consequence, a civil conflict, and a second hundred years' war with France, on whose result, in some sort, depended not only the future of Europe but of the world.

The War of the League of Augsburg 1689-97

Such was the great episode which began another struggle on the continent. The French armies which had already begun to overrun the fertile fields of the Palatinate against the forces of the Augsburg League, were now called on to face a Grand Alliance in which England was to play a leading part. For a time it seemed that they might succeed. Holding his position on the Rhine, Louis hurled his forces against Holland, despatched the dethroned English king with French support to raise Catholic Ireland; encouraged Scotch rebellion, attacked Savoy, which had joined the allies, and stirred his subjects in North America to fall upon the English colonies. Meanwhile the long preparation of the French and the disorganization of the English navy incident to the events of the Revolution, gave Louis an advantage on the sea. For nine bloody years the Low Countries were again the center of a European war. There, defeated again and again by the ablest of French generals, Luxembourg, William wrested more advantage from his reverses than his opponents gained from victory, and, finally crowning his exertions with the capture
1695 of Namur, approved himself one of the great captains of history.

Meanwhile, he found time to defeat his rival, James II;

and, with Schomberg's aid, he regained Ireland at the battle of the Boyne. The case of Scotland was more difficult. His 1690
troops were routed at Killiecrankie by the greatest of the Jacobite leaders, Dundee; but, on that general's death, William's lieutenants found no enemy able to make head against them, and Scotch rebellion was finally suppressed. Meanwhile, the naval victory of La Hogue restored the long- 1692
threatened English supremacy at sea, and inclined the balance in favor of the allies and the English succession as determined by Parliament. Even in the south—where Savoy, by one of those "well-timed treacheries," which contributed to her increasing power, had made peace with Louis XIV— 1696
French aggression was checked; and with the weakening of French offensive strength their fate was sealed. France, indeed, defended herself with brilliance and with no small measure of success against a world of enemies, but her resistance demonstrated that no power could hope for ultimate victory against half Europe. Her resources endured a fearful strain. Her foes were scarcely more willing to continue the conflict; and, after nearly a decade of destruction, the diplomats gathered again at Ryswick near the Hague to determine 1696
once more the settlement of peace.

The Peace of Ryswick 1697

Twelve months earlier, the Peace of Carlowitz had given to Austria all of Hungary and Transylvania except the Banate of Temesvar; and to Venice the Morea. At the same time, the death of Sobieski had brought the Elector of Saxony to the throne of Poland. Now the general peace of Europe was again restored by the treaty between Louis XIV and his enemies. The terms of Ryswick recognized William and Mary as the sovereigns of England, with James' daughter, Anne, as their successor; restored French conquests in Germany, save Alsace, to their old owners. The "barrier fortresses" along the borders of the Netherlands were garrisoned with Dutch troops. Spain regained a part of the "reunited" places she had lost since Nymwegen; and the Rhine was declared a free river. Such were the net results of a decade of conflict east and west—territorially, the annexation of Alsace, with its stronghold of Strassburg, to France,

and the extension of Austrian power over Hungary; politically, the establishment of two new dynasties and the preservation of the principle of popular government.

Peter the Great 1672-1725

To these was added another circumstance of scarcely less importance. Equally removed from the triumph of the English Parliament over the crown, the repulse of the Turks by the Austrians and their allies and the determination of affairs at Ryswick, an event upon the eastern edge of European politics was of an importance worthy to be compared with almost any of the transactions which absorbed the attention of the west. At the precise moment that the Eng-

1689

lish convention parliament offered the crown to William and Mary there ascended the throne of Russia a sovereign destined to affect the future of Europe no less than the greatest of those rulers in whose hands rested the fortunes of European politics. For, with the accession of Peter the Great, the spirit and the organization of the west found a champion able to compel even the backward Muscovites into step with the advancing civilization of the continent. As the war was brought to an end and the diplomats gathered at Ryswick, within a few miles of where they sat the ruler of Russia might have been found in the garb of a shipwright learning

1697-8

in the yards of Zaandam something of the art which had made Holland so rich and powerful. And, as the peace conference disbanded, the young prince brought back to his own land, from his romantic wanderings in England and Holland, those artisans and officers, who, under his direction, were to guide Russia into the path which led to a high place in European polity.

Colonial developments 1685-1700

Such an apparently trivial occurrence as the adventurous exploit of the Russian prince might well have failed to impress its real importance on men absorbed in the great European conflict, even had they known of Peter's presence in the west. But there were other elements in the more distant confines of European power to which, however absorbed in events nearer at hand, they could not be wholly indifferent. These were the developments in the colonial field. They were, indeed, conspicuous neither in the military

plans of the chief combatants nor in the negotiations which ended the struggle. Neither the border war between English and French in North America nor the transfer of Pondicherry in India from Holland to France, which was one of the results of the conflict, seemed vitally connected with the issues then being fought on the European field. Much less were events in South America reckoned a part of the war of the League of Augsburg. Yet in this period these neglected proceedings laid foundations upon which later generations were to build new edifices of society and politics.

Spanish-Portuguese rivalry in South America

First in spectacular effect, if not in ultimate significance, among these widely separated struggles were the events in Spanish America. There, as a half century before, Spain's hold on either end of her vast empire was challenged simultaneously by the same forces which had earlier sought to invade her closely held frontiers. On the south the struggle centered, as before, on the possession of the La Plata region, where Spanish and Portuguese contended for the Banda Oriental, that land debatable between Brazil and Argentine. In the years which preceded the Revocation and the English revolution, there was founded on the east bank of the huge estuary of the river mouth the post of Colonia, the first rival in that region of Buenos Ayres which stood opposite, and until the foundation of Montevideo, the chief port for the rich grazing plains of what was to be known as Uruguay.

1680

The Buccaneers 1630-80

Such was the first breach in Spanish monopoly. Far to the north, meanwhile, another and still more dramatic episode in colonial history reached the surprising climax of a long career. This centered in the activities of the buccaneers. During the fifty years since they had established themselves as an element in the Caribbean, their fortunes had greatly changed. The decline of Spanish commerce, which was strikingly apparent by the middle of the century, removed a great share of their livelihood; while the desperate efforts of Spain to drive them from their strongholds had made their very existence precarious. Their old haunt, Tortuga, was alternately lost and won, and European nations had often intervened in their affairs. The French had not overlooked

the opportunity afforded by their presence to seize the island and even attempt San Domingo; while Cromwell, by his
1655 capture of Jamaica, afforded them a refuge which Spain's conquest of Tortuga had lost to them. Thereafter, turning from the sea, they began a series of attacks on mainland ports which swept the shores of the Caribbean for more than twenty years. New Segovia, Cuba, even Porto Bello, fell victims to their plundering exploits, and the name of their great leader, Morgan, became a terror to the Spanish Main.

It was, in fact, largely due to these ferocious raids that Spain had agreed, some two years after the final recognition of Portuguese independence, to come to terms with England,
1670 and recognize her title to her American colonies in return for the cessation of hostilities, smuggling, and aid to these pirates. Such was their greatest permanent contribution to political events. It was at once succeeded by their greatest exploit. Under Morgan's lead, two thousand of these sea-
1671 rovers made their way to Panama, captured, sacked, and burned the town, and butchered its inhabitants. This began a decade of adventure, crowned by the second capture of Porto Bello. The years preceding the English revolution saw their power at its height. Their plundering expeditions
1680-3 led them to the Pacific, and the harassing of Peru, even to the East Indies, and it seemed for a time that nothing could preserve the Spaniards from further destruction. But the rival elements among the buccaneers fell out among themselves. They degenerated rapidly, and, after one more brilliant exploit, an attack on Cartagena in conjunction with the French, the naturally disintegrating influences of their wild society broke up their loose organization into separate piratical bands. Thenceforth they played no great part in affairs. By the time of the Peace of Ryswick their day in world politics was past. But they had served their turn. They had contributed to English, French, and Dutch invasion of the Spanish preserves, they had directed European eyes continually to the importance of the West Indies, and they had added a romantic if bloodstained chapter to the history of the western hemisphere. More than this, perhaps,

many of them, like Morgan, who reformed and became governor of Jamaica, contributed another element to that poplating of the New World which made up in energy what it lacked in numbers.

The French explorers

The activities of these picturesque and destructive pirates formed but a part of the romance of the long story of expansion. At the same moment that they reached the culmination of their fortunes another group of adventurers, no less romantic and far more useful, had attained the climax of their far-reaching activities. These were the French explorers in North America. While England was absorbed in the great struggle over the Exclusion Bill and the downfall of Shaftesbury and the Whigs, while Austria girded her arms against Turkish attack and Hungarian conspiracy, and the Reunion Chambers pushed forward their task of seizing Strassburg, the great French explorer, La Salle, had crowned his long adventures with a new exploit. Reaching the Mississippi by way of the Illinois, he made his way down that great river to the Gulf of Mexico, took possession of the imperial valley in the name of France, and christened it Louisiana. Thence he returned to France to enlist in a project against the mining districts of northern Mexico, framed under the guidance of a renegade Spanish official. Despatched with a small force of soldiers and a little fleet, La Salle found his way to land in Espiritu Santo Bay in Texas. Thence, after two years of residence, deserted by the commander of the fleet, betrayed by his Spanish coadjutor, he sought to retrace his way to Canada, only to be murdered by his own followers. Such was the tragic fate of an adventurer who gave an empire to Louis XIV and brought the Mississippi Valley within the bounds of European knowledge and rivalry. With all his efforts, for the time it seemed that his exploit was to have no permanent result. His Texas post was soon destroyed by Spain, the efforts of the French to break down the resistance of the Iroquois and win their way to the interior proved fruitless, and the foundation of Kaskaskia on the Illinois remained the sole tangible result of French activity in these twenty years.

1679-82

1683-4

Reorganization of the English colonies 1677-80

Far greater changes came within the English sphere of influence. Among them the establishment of new provinces and the reorganization of the administration were the chief. Following the disturbances of the preceding period, colonial jurisdictions were now rearranged. Maine was joined to Massachusetts, and New Hampshire, removed from its control, was erected into a separate colony with president and council appointed by the king, who retained as well the veto power over the acts of its assembly. At the same time West Jersey was restored to the Berkeley heirs as a proprietary colony.

Foundation of Pennsylvania 1681-2

A twelvemonth later this policy was extended by the grant of a region bounded by Delaware, New York, and Maryland to William Penn—an event of no small significance in the colonial world. Son of that admiral who had taken Jamaica, one of the trustees of West Jersey, and a favorite of James II, from whom his charter was derived, Penn was a leader among the Quaker sect. Forming a "Free Society of Traders of Pennsylvania," he summoned to his aid his co-religionists as colonists. With the assistance of the republican, Sidney, Penn framed a constitution which established popular government, led his settlers to America, concluded with the Indians "the only treaty never sworn to nor broken"; founded a town at Philadelphia; and so laid the foundations of a new society on liberal lines. It was recruited rapidly no less from Germany, Holland, and Scandinavia than from England. Pennsylvania grew so rapidly in numbers and prosperity that within a generation it ranked among the leading provinces in the western world. To it, and to the region on either side flocked thousands driven from their homes by war and persecution. Walloons and Palatine Germans, fleeing from the armies of Louis XIV, Huguenots escaping the Revocation, Quakers and Nonconformists, seeking to evade the pressure of their governments, with many desiring only peace and greater opportunity, poured a new flood of immigrants into the British North American colonies.

The *quo warrantos*

Almost at the same moment the relations between the English government and New England threatened a crisis in

their affairs. The old antagonism between the crown and the colonists, increased by the protection of the regicides, the persecution of the Quakers, and long controversy over the Massachusetts charter, had all but produced rebellion. This was complicated by disputes with the Gorges heirs over the title to Maine and by the evasion of the Navigation Laws. Writs of *quo warranto* were issued against the stubborn colony, and the charter was forfeited. The death of Charles and the accession of James increased the repressive policy of the crown. *Quo warrantos* were issued against Connecticut and Carolina, and presently against Maryland; while the New York assembly, established five years before, was suspended. Virginia became a royal province. Andros, created president of New England, assumed the government of Rhode Island, took possession of Connecticut, joined New York and the Jerseys to his jurisdiction, and was finally created Governor-General of North America. At the same time, his endeavors to strengthen the Established Church in the heart of dissenting Boston, the formation of an Episcopal society there, and the seizure of the Old South Church for its use, added a religious factor to the rapidly growing political antagonism which his acts and English policy had roused.

1684

1686-7

1688

The Revolution of 1688 and the American colonies

With this attempt to consolidate royal authority and suppress colonial charter rights, the Stuart efforts to unite the provinces in dependence on the crown seemed likely to bring North America to subjection or revolt. From that alternative it was preserved by events in England. The revolution of 1688 not merely secured the supremacy of Parliament and the English Church; it saved the liberty of the colonies. With the news of William's arrival in England, Massachusetts, New York, and Maryland rose in revolt. Andros was arrested in Boston; his deputy in New York was ousted; and in Maryland a rising destroyed Stuart authority. In every colony the new sovereigns were proclaimed. Massachusetts petitioned for her old charter; Rhode Island and Connecticut resumed their privileges. In New York the popular party, under Leisler disregarding the royal councillors, called a convention, made their leader virtual dictator,

1689

and for two turbulent years directed their own affairs, till
1691 Leisler was convicted of treason and hanged. With this, colonial disturbances gradually lessened as the provinces emerged from the most serious danger which thus far had threatened their chartered rights.

King William's War 1689-97

But they escaped one crisis only to face another scarcely less serious, as they became involved in the great struggle against Louis XIV, which was known in America as King William's War. The conflict was filled with the reprisals incident to a border war. Upon their outlying posts and frontier settlements, from Casco Bay to the Hudson, the French and Indians fell with devastating force. To this the English retaliated by seizing Port Royal, by futile efforts to take Quebec, and by inciting the Iroquois against their old antagonists. In turn, Frontenac led three expeditions against the Iroquois; a new English post in Maine was taken by a French expedition; and Newfoundland was only saved from an attack by the Peace of Ryswick, which ended the fierce but indecisive conflict. Insignificant as it appeared beside the greater forces and more dramatic interest of the struggle in Europe, the war in America had an importance beyond its incidents. It was the beginning of a new order in the world.

William and Mary —and America

The horrors of border war, destructive as they were, scarcely checked the more important activities of England and her colonies during this period. First among these was the problem of reorganization, interrupted by the Revolution. Far from reversing the Stuart policy, the colonists soon found that William's ministers were bent on following it,
1692 with more tact but no less rigor. The new charter of Massachusetts offered an opportunity and an index of their plans. By its provisions, the crown retained the appointment of a governor empowered to call or dissolve the general court or assembly, appoint military and judicial officers, and veto the acts or the appointments of the assembly. The old religio-political arrangement was broadened by a uniform property qualification and all except Catholics were granted religious liberty.

How vital the questions of theology remained was witnessed by a frantic witchcraft delusion which had meanwhile burst forth in Salem and claimed twenty victims before its fury was quenched. How far-reaching was the new reorganizing policy appeared in the appointment of Andros as royal governor of Virginia and Copley of Maryland; of Fletcher to the joint rule of Pennsylvania and New York; and, above all, in the elaboration of that centralized control so bitterly opposed by the separatist colonies, through the erection of a body to supervise colonial affairs. This so-called Board of Trade and Plantations had originated long before in a council committee, and had been definitely formulated in Shaftesbury's short-lived scheme. It now took permanent shape in a standing commission of which the great political philosopher, John Locke, was a member, intrusted with the task of "making the colonies most . . . useful to England . . . to examine and weigh the acts of the assemblies,"—and generally supervise colonial affairs. Such was the origin of a body, which, had it been allowed sufficient powers or exercised greater activity, might well have solved the vexed problem of colonial unity. At the same time the Navigation Acts were renewed; the supremacy of Parliament asserted; soldiers despatched to protect the colonists; and efforts made to establish a systematic administration through the provinces under the unifying influence of the crown. With these events, at the same time that she vindicated her principles of Protestant and parliamentary supremacy, England at last prepared to take up the problem of her loose-woven imperial concerns, to frame an empire from a congeries of provinces, and an imperial policy from a series of makeshifts.

The Board of Trade and Plantations

1696

That task was well worthy of attention. The colonists now numbered nearly if not quite a quarter of a million souls. Their settlements occupied a territory stretching along the north Atlantic coast from Maine to Cape Fear, and fifty miles inland. They were able to cope with all the ordinary dangers which threatened their frontier. Their agriculture was established. Their trade and fisheries were considerable; and, above all, their vast tracts of forest of-

fered almost unlimited facilities for settlement to Europeans, suffering from poverty or persecution. It was small wonder that from this time on their population grew by leaps and bounds; and that their love of independence grew in equal pace.

England in the East

Meanwhile the English activities in America, considerable as they were, scarcely exceeded in importance the development of their possessions and interests in the farther East. Royal favor and their consequent increase in strength and resources which had begun with the Restoration, strengthened by the acquisition of Bombay and by a succession of able governors for nearly a quarter of a century, had enabled the English East India Company to prosper, until, just before Charles II's death, its stock reached an unprecedented premium. But at this juncture a succession of reverses tended to weaken its position. Mutinies at Bombay and St. Helena injured its security and prestige; while the rise of the so-called Mahratta powers in central India not merely compelled the Company to recognize their rebellious existence but exposed its posts to predatory raids. It became, therefore, increasingly evident that the English directors' long-established policy of opposition to "garrisons and land-wars" must be abandoned. Under direction of Sir Josiah Child at home and his brother, Sir John, the Governor of Bombay in India, they accordingly changed their course, and with it the fortunes of England in the East.

The English East India Company 1686

The year following James II's accession, the Company's posts were moved to Calcutta, and simultaneously war was declared on the Mogul Empire. Troops and a fleet were sent out to India; but their instructions, framed in ignorance of Indian politics and geography, and their incompetent leadership, ensured defeat. The Calcutta establishment was abandoned. The factors fled to Madras, and only the embarrassments of the Delhi Emperor, Aurungzebe, in the Deccan and his fear of the interruptions of pilgrimages to Mecca by the English fleet, enabled the Company to secure

1690

humiliating peace and re-establish their Calcutta factory. But while they were thus preserved from their great enemy,

and the pressure from the Dutch was relieved by William's accession, the Company's situation became precarious at home. It was allied with the Stuart régime, discredited by the failure and expenses of the war, and greatly envied for the huge profits of its close monopoly. This tempted interloping traders to poach on its preserves, and its efforts to widen its scope by more liberal directors were succeeded, after the Restoration, by the establishment of a rival company.

The "Dowgate Association"

Against it Child intrigued and bribed in vain. The Dowgate Association, as it was called, allied with the Whig Party, secured a resolution that only by act of Parliament could any Englishman be held from trading with India. This invasion of the royal prerogative was reinforced by a loan of £2,000,000 to the government, then hard pressed for money to conclude the European war; and in the year of the Peace of Ryswick Parliament chartered a General Society 1697 which, saving the privileges of the Old Company, was authorized to trade in India. The services of the greatest of interloping traders, Thomas Pitt, grandfather of the future minister, were secured. Subscribers were found for a joint-stock association; and the new company prepared to compete for the great prize of Indian trade on more than equal terms.

Economic thought and policy

Such was the crisis which confronted the most powerful of English trading corporations as the seventeenth century wore to a close. It was closely bound up with far-reaching interests no less political than economic. Among the numerous concerns of England, trade was now rapidly becoming predominant; and from the first its literary champions, as well as its practical administrators, had been found among the members of the India Company. Two generations earlier, one of them, Thomas Mun, had published a famous 1664 tract, "England's Treasure by Forraign Trade," which had done much to stimulate the practice as well as the theory of commerce and legislation. Amid his manifold activities, Sir Josiah Child, despite occasional leanings toward a freer commerce, found time to reinforce the so-called mercantilist 1668-90 school by his "Discourse on Trade." In this, as in his Indian policy, and his plea for reduction of interest, he sought

to follow "the wise practice of the Dutch," and lay foundations for a wider industry.

The Bank of England 1694

This extraordinary commercial activity and its resultant literature had profound effect on European politics, for at this moment political exigency combined with economic pressure to accomplish an important project which was adopted in a somewhat different form from continental practices. The cost of William's European wars was great. The English currency was in deplorable condition. The revenue, though not inconsiderable, was scarcely regular enough for the demand, since entire dependence upon parliamentary grants—which were themselves subject to fluctuation of public sentiment—made the state's income precarious. Private banking facilities were inadequate to such great operations as Louis XIV had forced upon England. To obviate these difficulties a Scotch merchant in London, one William Paterson, proposed the establishment of a Bank of England. The consent of Parliament was obtained. He and his wealthy merchant friends raised the necessary capital; and, with the aid of Montagu, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, there began the long and useful career of this great enterprise.

The English national debt 1694-5

At the same time and under much the same pressure, another and still more important step was taken by the government. Having established the coinage and set up the Mint, under the direction of Sir Isaac Newton, Montagu proceeded to adopt a principle long in operation on the continent, in Italy, in Holland, and more recently in France. This was the pledging of the nation's income for a long-time loan, in brief the establishment of a national debt. It originated in a duty on beer and liquors, which was kept separate from the ordinary revenue and was made security for money loaned on life annuities. Thence the principle was extended to borrowing money on the general security of the government, and the cost of war was thus transferred in some measure from the generation which incurred it to their successors. With the extension of this principle of public borrowing upon national security, capitalism, which had long dominated private affairs, entered the domain of the state. It was reinforced

by two other forms of taxation destined to become important permanent additions to public finance. The one was the stamp tax, imitated from Dutch practice, and developing into many forms in later years. The other was the land tax. These were supplemented by customs and excise, which together laid the foundations of modern finance. Thenceforth finance and financiers were to play a part in politics not unlike the feudal baronage two centuries earlier. And in this was revealed another symptom of a changing world.

The principle of national debts, which thus spread through Europe chiefly during the reign of Louis XIV and partly as a result of his activities, was probably the most important alteration in public administration which owed its origin to the seventeenth century. But it was by no means the only change which affected the world of business, public and private, in that important era. It was accompanied by a striking change in the conduct of national affairs to which we give the name of administration, but which is in large measure at bottom, financial. From the time of Sully, through the period of Cromwell's ascendancy, the reign of the Great Elector, and the ministry of Colbert and of John de Witt, the chief nations of Europe experienced a reformation in the management and system of their affairs, of which they had long stood in need. It is, indeed, scarcely too much to say that with the accession of these able men to power in their respective countries, modern administration began. This was unquestionably due to the gradual transfer of public affairs from the hands of the aristocracy to those of the middle classes versed in the conduct of business. New principles were thus introduced into what had long been reckoned the "mysteries of state"; and these were not perhaps unrelated to the general tendency toward rationalism which affected every department of life but was most conspicuous in theology and philosophy.

The rise of insurance 1675-1700

It was accompanied by another phenomenon which at once enlarged and illustrated the same spirit in another field. This was the development of that important phase of business activity to which we give the general name of insurance.

Though this was not a national concern like the bank and the public debt, the adjustment of taxation, the encouragement of industry, the regulation of tariffs, and the rigid auditing of accounts, which marked the reorganization of administration, it was not unconnected with public prosperity and stability, and through one channel at least it was closely connected with these more general interests. Like them it was due in no small degree to the application of a crude form of what we know as statistics to public and private business affairs. In Holland the genius of John de Witt calculated population, by births and deaths. In England Sir William Petty and Child adopted the same course in what came to be known at first as Political Arithmetic. Upon such sets of figures was based much of the change in public business as time went on; and like compilations were now employed in protecting commerce against accidental loss.

The principle of marine insurance at least was not new. In modern times it had been practised in some form by the Italian cities certainly as early as the sixteenth century. Thence it had spread through the domains of Charles V, to the Netherlands and to England and France. It had received official sanction from the Dutch government as part of the business renaissance which characterized Dutch ascendancy in the first years of the seventeenth century. It remained for the English, as the leading commercial nation of the late seventeenth century, to develop it. In the same year as the
1688-9 revolution which placed William III on the throne, there was set up in London an association of merchants, ship-owners, and brokers known as Lloyd's which finally organized the business into the most powerful of marine insurance corporations and thus stabilized the English carrying trade.

The idea had already found its way into other fields. For more than a century there had been sporadic local attempts to extend insurance to cover risks by fire as well as by water. In English hands, after the Great Fire of London in 1666, this movement took more definite form; and in the last quarter of the seventeenth century the formation of companies undertaking such risks became a recognized element

in business enterprise, till, by the end of the reign of William III, the practice was fully established. It was extended more slowly to the continent, but even there, within fifty years it had become fairly common. It was natural—especially after the study and publication of mortality lists in this same period—that the idea of extending the same principle to human life should make headway; and the first life insurance companies seem to have sprung up in England at the beginning of the eighteenth century. Their development was slow and uncertain, and it was not until nearly a century later, when more accurate statistics of population and of the accidents of life were available, that they became the considerable factor in affairs which they have since remained. c. 1701-5

Development of facilities for safety and comfort 1675-1700

It is apparent that in all of these activities the underlying principle of making life and its affairs more stable and secure by common action to protect the individual was making rapid headway. It is no less evident that the idea at the root of scientific advance—the application of reason and method as well as investigation which led to more exact knowledge—was peculiarly active. There was involved, as well, that instinct which had long been evident in its minor affairs toward making life more comfortable and more endurable, as well as more secure. To this was added the rapid development of certain appliances for safety. Chief of these were the lighthouses which, in this period, became more numerous and more efficient, aided as they were at once by the support of governments and the discoveries of science, in particular the development of reflecting mirrors which had resulted from the activities of the physicists in the preceding century. And, if one should choose to pursue the subject still further, it might be noted that the general tendency to make life more agreeable for the rapidly increasing number of city dwellers was enhanced by the introduction of appliances to combat fires. These owe their origin to this same period of the last quarter of the seventeenth century, and the invention of a pumping-engine throwing a continuous stream of water resulted from this evolution at the beginning of the

eighteenth. To this may, perhaps, be added the introduction of the public or hackney coach. This came into common use at this same time, and, among its other characteristics, it indicated that same tendency toward the extension of the amenities of existence to wider classes in the general progress toward social as well as political devolution.

Effect on politics

In such fashion were introduced new elements into European life, of widely differing character and importance, yet all tending, in some measure, to the same end. So far as the factors relating to colonial and financial affairs were concerned, the new situation redounded greatly to the advantage of those nations opposed to the ambitions of Louis XIV. In no small degree they were the product of the same people and of the same individuals who at that moment embarked on another phase of imperial expansion. To oppose French designs the economic forces of a coming age were set beside arms and diplomacy. Against French ambitions in America the wave of emigration to the English colonies for which French continental policy was in no slight degree responsible had unconsciously begun to turn the scale.

"It is no matter," Louis XIV is reported to have said, on hearing of William's arrival in England, "the last gold-piece will win." To this the establishment of the Debt and the Bank, the reorganization of imperial concerns, east and west, was the English retort. For the last gold piece depended on other resources than the soil. Reinforced by Holland's precepts and practices, England, though inferior to France in agricultural wealth and vastly inferior in population, was none the less Louis XIV's most dangerous enemy. Her pre-eminence in naval power, on which modern affairs leaned more and more, besides making her immune from invasion, secured the growing profits of commerce with colonies and dependencies. Her superior popular initiative and her increasing financial facilities looked toward the future in her politics and economy. And with all the weakness of a turbulent polity, in England, rather than in the continental states, lay the direction in which Europe was to advance.

In no particular were the changes of the preceding years more clearly defined than in the altered situation of the European states. The East had now definitely passed from the control of Spain and Portugal to that of the English and the Dutch. So far as Asia and Africa were concerned, William III now occupied the place which Philip II had held a century earlier. With the Peace of Ryswick the third national state of the continental system was finally constituted, as France obtained essentially the boundaries she was to keep for nearly two centuries. Encircled by Vauban's iron girdle of fortresses, which at once defined and defended her frontiers, she took her place beside Spain and Portugal as a power which had virtually reached its final bounds and form. What further growth she might hope to attain must be beyond the sea; and there her field and her rival were determined. With all the weakness of their home affairs, the Iberian powers, Spain and Portugal, had proved themselves all but impregnable in South America. The great prizes which remained were to be found in the northern continent of the western hemisphere; for India, still united under the great Mogul Emperor, Aurungzebe, as yet offered no opportunity to European political expansion.

The position of France at the Peace of Ryswick

It was, then, in the Anglo-French rivalry for the control of North America rather than in Europe itself, that the next phase of European territorial progress centered. Among the military operations which ended with the Peace of Ryswick, the border wars between the English and French colonists played no decisive part in the determination of the great conflict. In those negotiations, only the foothold gained by the French at Pondicherry was of importance in the ultimate result. Yet, none the less, it was in this field and in this period that the foundations were being laid on which another generation was to build a greater edifice of joint European and colonial polity.

Anglo-French rivalry

That process, indeed, had already begun; for the status of the colonial world had vastly altered since the time when the discovery of new peoples and new lands had been a leading motive in the intellectual as in the economic and political

development of Europe. Discovery had, indeed, not ceased, but it no longer held the place it once had occupied in men's minds. In like degree, the impetus of European trade by the discovery of the seaways east and west, and the no less tremendous revolution in finance by that supply of precious metals which Spain had poured into the continent, had taken their places among the elements of Europe's existence and progress. What influence her oversea expansion was henceforth to exert, lay, for the most part, in other directions.

The expansion of European population in America

First among these was the establishment of a permanent and increasing European population spreading slowly but steadily across the lands best fitted for its occupation. This process, long since in evidence through South America, had been so reinforced in the preceding century by English and French enterprise in the northern continent, that it promised a time when mere increase of numbers would profoundly alter the balance of the European world. Second was the development of the American colonies not as mere outposts of Europe, reflecting the status of her society, but as a separate entity, transformed by different environment to organisms like and yet unlike those of the old world from whence they sprung. They were at once the extension of the old and the beginning of the new, each with its own problems and circumstances whence they derived peculiar character. They formed, in fact, experimental stations for European society and polities, whose lessons were to be of vital importance in the years to come. To these were to be added presently the problems of the establishment of territorial as well as commercial empire in the East, which circumstances were about to make possible if not inevitable.

Above all, and comprehending the whole situation thus produced, were two far-reaching issues. The one was the prospective increase of Europe's resources by the opening of unlimited free land for surplus population, which meant, virtually, a huge extension of her boundaries. The second was the inevitable transfer of the center of gravity, in some degree, by the direct inclusion of colonial interests as elements in the European situation. A century earlier, events

Longitude from Greenwich West
Longitude from Greenwich East
NORTH AMERICA
ATLANTIC OCEAN
PACIFIC OCEAN
SOUTH AMERICA
AFRICA
INDIAN OCEAN
EUROPE
RUSSIA
SIBERIA
MONGOLIA
CHINESE EMPIRE
CHINA
PERSIA
INDIA
JAPAN
NEW HOLLAND
AUSTRALIA
GREENLAND
ICELAND
SCOTLAND
IRELAND
POLAND
SAHARA DESERT
ARABIA
TIBET
BRAZIL
Hudson Bay Co.
New Foundland
Nova Scotia
Bermuda
Madeira Is.
Canary Is.
Cape Verde Is.
Ceylon
Philippines
Java
Van Diemen's Land
THE EUROPEAN WORLD
AT CLOSE OF THE
17th CENTURY
c. 1690 - 1700

"beyond the line" were scarcely reckoned an integral part of European polity. That view had slowly given way before the changes of the seventeenth century. The Peace of Ryswick saw its disappearance from the stage; and the new chapter of history which then began took little cognizance of demarcation lines between the continent and Europe beyond the seas.

Result on Europe

It was a natural development. From the beginning of territorial expansion the agents of that movement had been largely, if not chiefly, concerned with the acquisition of those products which their own countries could supply scantily or not at all. These were, for the most part, drawn from the tropics, and they comprised, generally, perhaps save for the precious metals, rather the luxuries than the necessities of life. In their passion for sudden wealth, Spanish and Portuguese alike had long neglected or despised lands best fitted for European settlement and industry; while their sole political conception, except in the Atlantic islands, had been the conquest and exploitation of non-European peoples. It was, in consequence, not until the first flush of the conquering and prospecting age had passed that the development of a varied economy, of planting, trading, farming, and cattle-raising, really began; and long after these were in operation their chief energies were directed to supplying the necessities of the colonists themselves, rather than acting, like the mining industry, as a real extension of the resources of the mother country.

Spain and Portugal

England and Holland

The English and the Dutch at first had followed the example thus set, and their expansion, like that of the Spanish and Portuguese, was long a naval adventure rather than a real colonial experiment. But the plantation idea was never wholly absent in any of these peoples; and, apart from the natural and inevitable tendency of men to seek new lands to make or better their fortunes, another element—though it was largely wanting in the Iberian powers—soon powerfully reinforced the colonizing impulse throughout central and northern Europe. This was the religio-political disturbance which divided the northern societies against them-

selves and developed the idea of refuge from persecution in the New World. With this development the interest of expansion tended to shift from tropical to temperate zones, from mere exploitation to actual settlement, from mining commerce, planting, and piracy, to the transfer of a stable and diversified European society and economy to lands beyond the sea.

Change in colonial status

With the carrying out of such new principles and the concurrent changes in Europe itself, there gradually grew up an altering theory and practice of colonial status and development. On the one hand the problems of existence under a strange environment tended to evolve a sense of separation from the old world, and the modification of standards and methods, customs and even character to meet the new conditions of life under colonial skies. On the other hand, these new societies found it as impossible as it was undesirable to separate themselves wholly from the world whence they came. The necessities of existence, no less than political exigency and economic interest, made them a part of an increasingly vast and complicated network of common alliances and antagonisms. These were, in large measure, determined by commercial relationships. Between the West Indies and the North American colonies, between West Africa and the plantations, even between the East Indies and the western hemisphere, the trade-currents ran; while from Europe itself there radiated in every direction streams of commerce which bound the world together in an increasingly far-reaching community of interests.

At the same time, while the old world maintained and strengthened its hold on the tropics, and their luxuries grew into necessities, it had tended more and more to draw means of subsistence and utility from latitudes which corresponded with its own. Thus it became increasingly dependent upon its temperate possessions oversea. Spain had come to rely upon America not merely for precious metals to recruit her scanty revenue; with the decline of her own resources at home she was compelled to lean more and more upon the

produce of her colonial fields and herds. From her American forests, farms, and fisheries England had begun to draw the food, the raw material, the nautical supplies which neither her own territory nor that of the Baltic states could supply in sufficient quantities. Fur-bearing animals had vanished from western and central Europe; but the scanty store provided by the north and east was more than supplemented from North America. The Newfoundland Banks had long since reinforced the North Sea as a source of fish; and colonial whale-hunters had now begun to rival the activities of the English and the Dutch in that important industry. Thus from forest, farm, and fishery, from ship-yard and distillery, from pampas and prairie, no less than from mine and plantation, Europe drew to herself vast quantities of supplies in exchange for her own manufactures and the products of the East.

Her far-stretching possessions oversea became, in fact, a real extension of her economic no less than her political boundaries. Increasingly divergent in the character and aims of its component parts, increasingly involved in the concerns of European politics, the years of the War of the League of Augsburg mark with definiteness the entry of commercial and financial elements into the most pressing concerns of the continent. For in the development of the Bank of England and the National Debt, in the beginning of a new régime in India, the growth of English colonies, and the extension of French influence into the heart of North America, rather than in the ambitions of Louis XIV, in the triumph of Protestant and parliamentary supremacy in England rather than in the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, lies the enduring importance of the last two decades of the seventeenth century.

CHAPTER XXVIII

EUROPE AT THE END OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

If there is one feature of European development which stands out most conspicuously as one approaches the grand climacteric of the Age of Louis XIV, it is the increasing scope, content, and complexity of the affairs with which men concerned themselves, in comparison with the standards and activities of Europe three centuries earlier. There is no gain in the evolution of society without some loss, and many modern men have bewailed the disappearance of the simplicity of life which, to their minds, the middle ages afforded. There is, it is true, something to be said for this view if one considers merely that peace of mind which arises from immobility or blind confidence in the possession of absolute truth. Yet there is a fallacy involved in this view. The mediæval peace of mind was, in large measure, the peace of the desert. Its peace of spirit was purchased on terms which would seem unendurable to the great mass of modern thinking men. And, even amid the wars which resulted from the ambitions of the Grand Monarque, it is probable that the greater part of Europe suffered less disturbance than from the incessant local conflicts which marked the "age of superstition and force."

The new basis of life

On the other side is to be set the natural tendency of man toward activity, which gives the more energetic element of society its chief satisfaction in accomplishment. For such men the earth was now a better place in which to live. Europe had gradually broadened to include more than half of the world. Its interests, no longer confined to means of subsistence, or the narrow concerns of church and state, were involved with situations and problems unknown or scarcely

realized by men of earlier times. This was due even more to the internal than to the external expansion of the continent. The mathematicians and geographers kept equal pace with the wide-traveling explorers and conquerors; the victories of the founders of empire were not more fruitful, scarcely more spectacular than those of the pioneers of the arts. and sciences. New intellectual capacities and new worlds of thought were acquired at the same time that new continents and islands were revealed. As a consequence, the number of things that men reckoned worth doing and recording were infinitely multiplied. The forces at work in molding nations and individuals grew in like proportion; and the whole fabric of life became at once more complex and more interesting to the vast majority of European peoples.

France under Louis XIV

No circumstance more fully illustrates this development of human interests and achievement than the situation of France under Louis XIV. Her triumphs in those years which saw his rise to power and fame were by no means confined to arms and diplomacy, still less to the apotheosis of royal authority. About him the Grand Monarque had drawn the most brilliant court Europe had yet seen. If the later years of Elizabeth had revealed a burst of intellectual genius which rivaled the triumphs of the Italian Renaissance, and a skill in war scarcely inferior to that in letters, the Age of Louis XIV revealed him and his court to Europe in a no less brilliant light. In arts as well as in arms France bid for the domination of the European world, and not without success. While her ambassadors and her generals became at once the terror and the admiration of the continent, her men of letters and of science assured her eminence in the domain of intellect, and the countless exponents of the arts of life made her the center and the fountain of the increasing tendency toward the refinements of existence.

French literature

In those years the genius of French comedy in the hands of Molière achieved a triumph only rivaled by the tragedies of Racine. The lofty spirit of Bossuet reached heights of grave and majestic oratorical eloquence scarcely touched be-

fore or since; while the critical talent of Boileau infused new life into that form of literature and established canons of taste and execution accepted by the writers of at least two generations. Inspired by the influence of Montaigne, the acute observation and the perfect prose of Rochefoucauld's *Maxims* established a new school of expression in one form of literature as did La Fontaine's *Fables* in another. Bossuet, La Fontaine, and Rochefoucauld alike found their chief rival for literary eminence in their saintly countryman, the gentle and gifted Fénelon. Besides these, still, a new form of literature, the novel, flowed from the pen of Madame de Lafayette, whose pioneer efforts in developing what was to be so characteristic a feature of later literary history were only challenged by her contemporary, the Englishwoman, Aphra Behn.

French culture

While French genius found voice in this, the greatest period of its literature, it was winning triumphs in other fields, of no less consequence. Of these the chief were manners, dress, and war. Moreover, the refinements of language that arose in part from the development of its literature, and in part from French ascendancy in other fields, made it pre-eminent among European tongues. This, at least, may in some sort be credited to its ruler. The personal dignity which took pleasure in clothing its authority with stately form and ceremony, housing its greatness in splendid dwellings, and lightening its grandeur with an elegance borrowed and amplified from Italian originals, impressed its character on every department of life it touched, and captured the imagination of the continent. Along the eastern border of France each petty prince strove to emulate the example of the Grand Monarque. Gardens and palaces, court-theaters and musicians, costume and ceremony formed themselves on French examples. The French, like the English, had earlier found their chief models in Italy; now Europe took its cue from France. Everywhere its arts could penetrate, they bore their language with them; and French became not merely the tongue of war and diplomacy, but of manners, dress, art, architecture, literature, even cooking and domestic

furnishing. This was no temporary triumph. The words thus introduced into many other languages found permanent place and, in their native dress or transformed by their new users, enriched at once the vocabulary and the thought of half the continent. And whatever else Louis XIV's subjects achieved, their taste and graces did much to relieve the dullness which continually overshadows life.

Progress in the art of war

At the same time they pushed still further the advance made in the preceding century in the art of destroying their fellow-men. Of all the activities which had employed the people of Europe during the seventeenth century none had absorbed more energy, more talent, and more lives than the art of war. The almost perpetual conflicts which had involved every nation of the continent developed an infinity of new methods and materials and called to their aid scientific knowledge. They enlisted the ability no less of mathematicians than of commanders, of inventors as well as of administrators, till the military system which emerged bore small resemblance to the irregular arrangements under which the conflicts of previous generations had been waged.

First in importance came the improvement in artillery. A hundred years earlier that branch of service had reached its highest development in Turkish hands, and to their superiority in that arm much of the success of their conquering advance had been due. To counteract that advantage, their nearest enemies, Italian and Austrian gunners and mathematicians, were driven to follow and improve on their achievements by the study of projectiles and explosives. The long sieges of the Low Country fortresses by the Spanish had at once contributed to the science of fortification and produced a corresponding advance in heavy artillery, while the early campaigns of the Thirty Years' War had done something to develop the lighter arm. But it was only when Gustavus took the field that Europe saw for the first time that mobile field artillery capable of a rapidity of fire much superior to the crude musketry of the day. With him, too, came the flintlock and cartridge which gradually replaced the more cumbersome and far less dependable matchlock; and,

toward the end of the century, the bayonet, which enabled the infantry to combine the duties hitherto divided between pikeman and musketeer. The Swedes developed as well those auxiliary branches of service, essential to a self-contained force like theirs, operating far from its home base, and dependent on itself for defense as for offensive resources. Sappers, miners, and engineers, now organized into a well-defined and recognized branch of the army, with a more fully equipped commissariat, taught Europe a new art of war. With these there was evolved a school of tactics which, relying on mobility rather than on the old mass formations that had given the Spaniards their long ascendancy in the field, opened a new era of warfare.

Cavalry

Assisted by these lessons as well as by those of the Low Country conflict which had been a military school for half Europe, the next great advance came in the English civil wars. To them Leslie brought the innovations of Gustavus; Prince Rupert, the systems of Tilly and Wallenstein; Monk, the lessons of the Low Countries; adventurers like Gascoigne, the methods of Italy. Here for almost the first time the various schools of warfare were brought face to face. From them the genius of Cromwell developed another phase. Cavalry had been till now but little more than mounted infantry. In his hands, building on the suggestions of the Swedes, it developed the shock tactics, the crashing charge of solid squadrons of armed horses and men, on squares of pikemen and musketeers disorganized by artillery fire. Almost at the same moment the talents of Condé found in the French *élan* a new weapon; and at the battle of the Dunes the solid squares of the once dreaded Spanish infantry met their death-blow at the hands of the mobile French attack and the invincible charge of the English Ironsides. That decisive victory marked the climax of the transition between old and new, like Crécy two centuries before. While the order of field warfare was thus altered, two other influences were at work to revolutionize military affairs. Chief of these was fortification, which reached its greatest perfection in the hands of the French engineer Vauban. Bred in those long

Fortification

conflicts which ended in the Peace of the Pyrenees, he borrowed from the Turks their device of approach by parallels; from the Swedes their organization of a permanent corps of engineers; from Italian and German scientists the adaptation of mathematics to the problems of ballistics; from the architects, the lessons of masonry and architecture. From these, infused with his own genius, he evolved those triumphs of fortification by which, before the Peace of Nymwegen, he had begun to surround France with a cordon of fortresses, the *ceinture de fer*, an iron girdle equally designed for defensive and offensive operations. Within this all but impenetrable shell Louis XIV was able to pursue his designs against the peace of Europe in virtually undisturbed security.

Standing armies

With the improvement of the art of war and its almost constant practice through the century, together with the evolution of more centralized government and the increase of royal power, France took the lead in another and even more important phase of national development. This was the formation of standing armies, which gradually became one of the chief factors in European polity. To the old feudal levy, on which kings had relied two centuries before, had been added the use of mercenaries, as the substitution of taxes for service had put in royal hands the means of paying a permanent force devoted to the crown interest. Little by little the profession of arms had fallen into the hands of military adventurers ready to sell their services to any prince to supplement the forces which he raised by right or fear from his own subjects. These were reinforced, as time went on, by a permanent guard for royalty itself, composed of noble or mercenary elements, till, at the opening of the seventeenth century, scarcely a prince in Europe was without a force of this kind at his command.

But with the increasing stress of international politics and war, especially with the long German conflict which saw the climax of the mercenary movement, it became apparent that the rising national states must have at once larger and more trustworthy forces at their command. In consequence, European rulers, following the lead of Louis XIV, raised armies

composed of their own subjects, formed into regiments whose officers, enlisting and paying the men composing their commands, received from the crown the means to support their troops. Arms thus became a profession, differing as much from the old status of feudal times as from the denationalized mercenary system which had supplemented it, yet partaking in some measure of both elements. With this the modern plan of standing armies entered on the phase which was to endure in some form for more than a century, and to play a great and often decisive part not only in international affairs but in domestic politics. For in it lay the means of making absolute the royal master of a well-disciplined and equipped force.

It seemed for a time that it would be impossible for any other force to contend against the all-pervasive French cultural influences which so dominated other nations. Every officer from lieutenant to marshal bore a French title; every dish from entrée to dessert, the steps of dancing, the terms of gallantry, the terminology of the arts of life were all tinctured by Gallic infusion. Against this glittering pretension to absolute authority the contest seemed scarcely less hopeless, for it was armed with such powers, robed in such splendid garb, and adorned with such graces that many were blinded to its real significance, or terrified into submission. Yet at the very moment two other rivals for the approbation of Europe began to assert themselves. The one was the advance of science and of scholarship, the other the growing power of the English race.

Reaction against French domination

In one sense they were co-workers in the same field. If Louis XIV raised to its highest point the older ideal of despotic monarchy, the English Puritan Revolution had already dealt a fatal blow to the doctrine of the divine right of kings. Even while the French king personified the triumph of absolutism, his cousin and client, Charles II, had seen his Parliament filch from him no small part of the old powers of royalty, and develop new machinery to make popular control of Parliament more effective. Even while France attained the height of her authority on the continent

and her adventurers bore her influence deep into the heart of the American wilderness, England began to draw together the scattered threads of her imperial administration and push her slow-moving boundaries forward in the same direction, and to organize her financial and commercial interests to meet the crisis which was about to overtake her fortunes.

—in letters and politics

And even as the brilliant burst of literary genius and courtly grace, with the military and diplomatic ascendancy of the Grand Monarque, dazzled the continent, there prepared an intellectual movement, not bounded by the frontiers of any nation, which had begun to revolutionize the thought and was presently to affect the activities of the European world. In this England was to bear more than her share. Important as the Reformation had been in releasing half Europe from the domination of the Papacy and in establishing the rights of individual judgment, with whatever far-reaching consequences that involved, the last half of the seventeenth century saw the beginnings of a revolution no less profound because it was not clearly recognized. This was the working out of those doctrines and discoveries in science and politics which not merely altered man's whole conception of the universe, its ruler and its laws, but directly affected the theory and even the practice of human government as well as of man's intellectual processes.

What Luther and Calvin, Copernicus and Galileo, Descartes and Bacon had been to an earlier generation, a new group of men, Newton and Locke, Spinoza and the Deists became to the Age of Louis XIV. What the Italian epic poet, Dante, had been to the fourteenth century, the Englishman, John Milton, was to the seventeenth. Perhaps no single figure so epitomized the spirit of the transition period of the English race as he. Author of the most beautiful of pastorals in his youth; his middle life was spent as the literary champion of the Commonwealth; his blind old age, reviving an ancient art, brought forth *Paradise Lost*. Filled with a Calvinistic theology, his great poem was at the same time instinct with the classical tradition of the Renaissance; while its imagery was drawn no less from the recent triumphs of

Milton 1608-74

science and the newly revealed splendors of the eastern world than from Greek mythology and Hebrew Testament. Thus clothing his conception of the fall of the angels, the creation and the fall of man, in the sonorous magnificence of a new blank verse, he gave Europe as imperishable a possession as did Dante or Virgil or Homer.

Spinoza 1632-77

What the English Milton was to literature, the Portuguese Jew, Spinoza, was to philosophy. With this grave solitary thinker, who, like his master, Descartes, was a resident of the Netherlands, European speculation entered another stage of its development. His basic conceptions were those of substance, attributes, and mode. Building on Descartes' dictum, "I think, therefore I am," he developed the idea of "attributes," by which God is figured to mankind in mind and matter and nature. It was a gallant effort to reconcile the old theology with the new science. Though his doctrines were denounced as atheism and pantheism, long misunderstood and violently attacked, they were, in fact, the expression of a novel if rigid monotheism. They offered a logical clue to extricate European thought from the impossible situation in which it found itself between the old dogmatic assumptions of the so-called "revelation" which had ruled for centuries, and the advance of knowledge which made many of those older doctrines untenable to one who accepted scientific discoveries. To him God was not the creator nor the father of the world but the eternal universe itself. He strove to introduce reason for revelation, to unify the conception of God and nature and place mankind in some rational relation at once to the phenomena of existence and the conceptions of theology. In this his philosophy typified the attempt of men to find what so many desired, a middle way between the old and new, a compromise between conflicting influences.

The defense of liberty of thought in speculative matters had thus advanced from the old Reformation school to that of the so-called Deists, who, like Spinoza, proposed to bring dogma and revelation to the test of reason and investigation, and introduce free inquiry into the realm of belief. It was now reinforced by that critical study of the Bible, which, in

Spinoza's hands, had begun the modern methods of analysis, comparison, and textual criticism that challenged the long dominance of the revelationists. Thus the whole field of theology was threatened with invasion by the spirit which had gone far toward solving some of the old mysteries of the universe. At the moment, therefore, when Europe found itself divided between the rival schools of French and English thought and practice in politics and administration, between Louis XIV and his enemies in international rivalry, and between two sets of antagonisms in colonial affairs, she found herself involved in a crisis of thought which was to prove a turning-point of her intellectual existence.

The scientific spirit

This was the beginning of that change which, pressing on from physical investigation into the study of politics and finally into theology, marks the real break between the mediæval and the modern intellectual world, and the emergence of modern religious thought. It was the natural and inevitable result of that scientific spirit which, from its earlier triumphs, had developed so greatly during the seventeenth century. Against it the anathema of St. Peter's and the protests of Protestant divines alike had thundered in vain, as it prepared to assault the citadel of dogma. It bore within itself, had its ecclesiastical opponents been able to recognize them, two elements which should have commanded their respect. The one was a crusading zeal, self-sacrifice, and moral courage worthy of the best days of the church itself. The other was the possibility of introducing into theology, which was naturally dogmatic and thus at no time wholly attractive to many of the freer spirits of mankind, something of that liberty which could replace its formulæ by a more vigorous appeal to the reason, and prevent the spread of dry rot which always threatens any system based on ceremonial and dogma. But it was not to be supposed that its opponents could see that what they so feared and denounced as atheism and pantheism was no real foe to the essence of their beliefs, however it attacked what it regarded as blind superstition. Still less could they comprehend that it might lead to even higher conceptions of the universe and

man and their Creator than did the Pentateuch, to whose legends the hierarchy so devoutly clung. Least of all could they perceive that it was no irreconcilable foe even to the mystical appeal which the church makes to the emotions and the springs of conduct, and which, in the last resort, is perhaps its real strength.

England

While then the conflict for temporal power went on throughout the European world, the struggle between science and dogmatic theology altered the basis of men's thought. And while Locke from his Oxford study put forward that political philosophy which justified resistance to arbitrary power and nullified the doctrine of divine right of kings, it was but natural that the land where freedom of thought was most fully recognized should find itself in the forefront of the scientific movement, as it was of the political. Thus as Italy had been the leader in the artistic renaissance, England became the leader in the development of science during this period.

—her scientific and inventive interest ——1660

From highest to lowest her people shared in this movement, which experienced, in consequence, a tremendous impetus. Among the members of the British Royal Society, chartered by Charles II as a scientific academy, were men of all ranks, professions, and beliefs. The king had his own chemical laboratory. His cousin, the once famous cavalry leader and admiral, Prince Rupert, divided his old age among naval affairs, company promotion, and science, to such effect that his name is perpetuated by such curiously divergent means as an Arctic land and that curious toy known as Prince Rupert's drops. The Marquis of Worcester issued his *Century of Inventions,* at once a record of achievement and a prophecy.

Boyle 1627-91

Above all, another apostle of experiment, Boyle, brought from his study of "the new paradoxes of the great star-gazer, Galileo" that passion for physical science which in his hands produced the air-pump, and established aerostatics as a department of knowledge, with Boyle's law as its first principle. Proceeding further, he demolished the old doctrine of the four elements, earth, air, water, and fire, and the

spagyrists "tria prima." He substituted for them a "mechanical philosophy," which, virtually basing itself on what was later to be known as the atomic hypothesis, became the accepted doctrine of matter. His experiments were innumerable. From those on temperature and the circulation of the blood, on gas, magnetism, refraction, electricity, to his efforts to weigh light, they covered the whole range of physical chemistry. Identified with no primal discovery, he was none the less one of the greatest of scientists, the champion of the revolt against scientific as well as theological dogmatism and intolerance. And as the precursor, if not the founder, of the modern school of chemistry, his extraordinary position and achievements at once advanced and dignified the title of a man of science.

The scientists 1675-1700

Boyle was but one of the more conspicuous members of an increasing group; and the mere list of the more eminent exponents of investigation in this period bears witness both to the extraordinary development of knowledge and the growing importance of scientific studies. Hooke—who divided with the Dutchman Huyghens the honor of inventing the compound microscope and the balance-wheel which revolutionized watch-making, who conceived a flying-machine and claimed to have anticipated Newton's great discovery—led the way in this movement. Gregory, with his reflecting telescope; the naturalist, John Ray, pioneer in systematic botany and zoölogy; Ward, with his theory of planetary motion; the universal genius of the scholar-scientist-mathematician, Barron; and the rising ability of Halley, whose observations had already begun to revolutionize the knowledge of the moon and tides, added their talents to the furtherance of the cause of science. In medicine Sydenham, 1624-89 "the English Hippocrates," the friend of Locke, cut loose from the domination of both philosophic schools of medical thought, and with his insistence on the "natural history of disease," on specific remedies for specific ills, set the curative art on a stage of its existence which, in a sense, laid the foundations for modern treatment. To these may be added the discovery by Leeuwenhoek of such different phenomena

as the yeast plant and the construction of the eye, of bacteria, spermatozoa, and protozoa; and the labors of the greatest of microscopists, Malpighi, who, with Leeuwenhoek, completed Harvey's work. For by his discovery of the capillaries, the circulation of the blood which Harvey had "made a logical necessity" Malpighi "made a histological certainty."

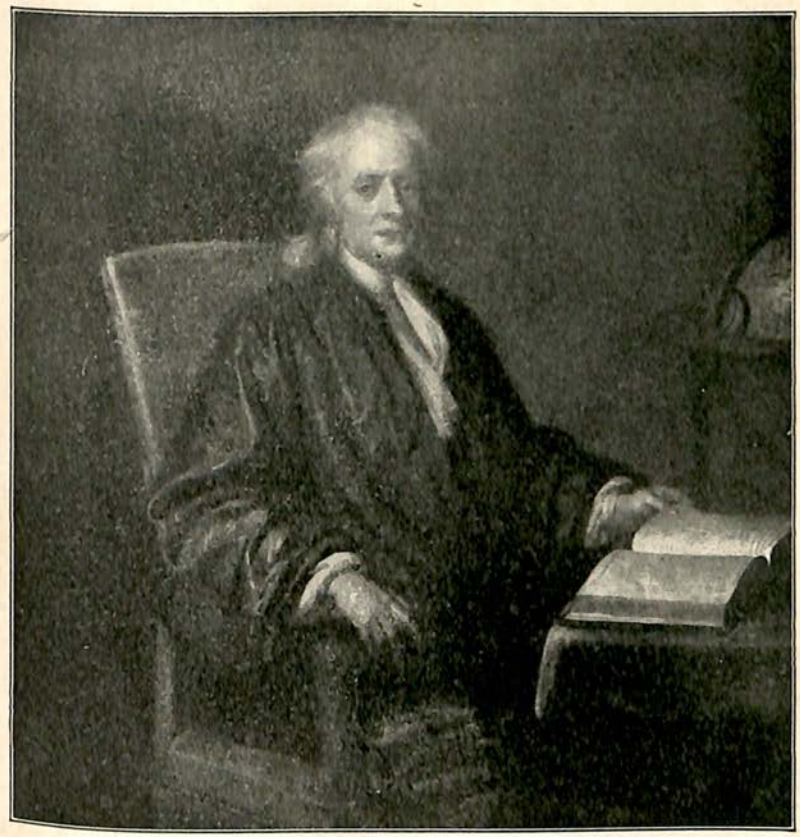
1628-94

The phlogiston theory

Among this varied expression of original genius two circumstances were conspicuous. The first was the development of a new theory in the field of chemistry which was destined to dominate the thought of that science for nearly a century. Beginning with the German chemist, Becher, and exploited by his countryman, Stahl, this phlogiston doctrine, as it was called, assumed that all substances contained two elements, one, phlogiston, which was inflammable or combustible, the other which could not be burned. The principles of this school of thought, which were based rather upon alchemy than on chemistry, were suggested or derived from the older classification of substances on the basis of fire, which, in some form, was still to play a considerable part in many fields of science, notably geology. And it was not until the eighteenth century was nearly gone that men were converted from this last and most successful of all attempts of the old alchemy to maintain itself in modern thought.

The law of gravitation —Newton 1642-1727

The second line of progress was upon sounder principles and found its chief expression in mathematics and astronomy. Here the great figures were the English Newton and the German Leibnitz. Newton's *Principia* in this period became, indeed, the gospel of a new scientific faith, and by the establishment of the theory of gravitation, through long observation and infinite calculation, marked the greatest advance in the knowledge of the universe and its laws since Copernicus. For in Newton's hands were finally combined the contributions of the earlier astronomers. Copernicus had perceived the revolution of the earth about the sun. Kepler discovered that its orbit was elliptical. Galileo determined the law of falling bodies. All these Newton fused into that theory of gravitation which explained the binding force of



SIR ISAAC NEWTON.

From the painting by Vanderbank, National Portrait Gallery.

the solar system, and gave a clue to the laws of the illimitable universe.

The invention of calculus

To this he added another element of intellectual progress, whose credit he shared with Leibnitz,—the development of differential calculus or fluxions. It is not easy, perhaps it is impossible, to put into words, conceptions which express themselves in mathematical terms, since these, like chemical formulæ, form a language nearly if not quite untranslatable into verbal expression. To say that "Leibnitz deserves the highest credit for the introduction of the symbols $\int$ and dx," or that Newton's great contribution was the invention of $\dot{x}$ $\dot{y}$ $\dot{z}$, conveys nothing to one not versed in a science which uses such symbols as expression of its mental processes. It seems impossible to define calculus in terms which make the definition intelligible to non-mathematical minds. But this much is evident, even to those meaner intellects which cannot grasp the intricacies of higher mathematics—the new science dealt with the idea of variation within limits, and with infinitesimal elements as exemplified in the rate of increase of a curve. It thus enabled men, for the first time, to consider quantitatively such problems as the motions of the heavenly bodies, and the movement of heat, and to arrive quickly and easily by one operation at such results as the content of circles and calculation of stresses, hitherto ascertainable only by long and cumbrous computations. The extension of mathematical processes into the region of the infinitesimal opened the "exact science" still further to the influence of the imagination, and provided it with a dynamic factor which enormously extended its intellectual strength as well as its practical use.

The general progress of mathematics

This was emphasized by other discoveries. The Frenchman, Demoivre, driven from his country by the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, found in Newton a master; and, building on his work, applied trigonometry to imaginary quantities. To this Newton himself added the discovery of the binomial theorem and the further development of the theory of equations. With these, and other contributions of less note but much utility, the second great period of mathe-

matical development reached its climax. The arithmetical and geometrical learning of the Greeks, with the numeration and the algebraic inventions of the Arabs, had been introduced to Europe in the later middle ages. Between that period and the end of the seventeenth century the development of algebra and trigonometry, the invention of analytical geometry and logarithms, marked the beginning of modern mathematics. Now, with the work of Newton, Leibnitz, and their co-workers, the science entered on another and greater stage of its progress; and, so far from being exhausted, demonstrated that it was still not merely one of the most active agents in the practical affairs of mankind but one of the most fruitful fields of intellectual expansion.

Astronomy and physics

While the progress of mathematical science was remarkable in this period, and crowned a century and a half of speculation and computation with the most "stupendous triumph of the human mind in the realms of exact knowledge,"—"the mathematical explanation of a primal law"—the development of pure intellect was not the only striking feature of the scientific renaissance nor was England alone in her devotion to its interests. Her position, indeed, was not a sovereignty but a primacy. In France the astronomical abilities of the Italian, Cassini, who determined the planetary periods, gave that nation a place in the great movement of discovering the secrets of the heavens. In Holland the genius of Huyghens, who developed Galileo's ideas into the pendulum clock, shared with Hooke the credit of inventing escapements for watches, and contributed to the triumph of his pupil, Newton, in his studies of accelerating force. He discovered the rings and the fourth satellite of Saturn, with a telescope whose construction marked the beginning of a new stage of optical discovery; and he developed the undulatory theory of light, whose proposition revolutionized that whole science, and had no small effect upon all scientific thought and practice.

—Huyghens

Meanwhile in Germany the commanding and universal talents of Leibnitz, beginning with literature and theology, and continuing with philology and philosophy, summed the

—Leibnitz 1646-1716

content of intellectual achievement of his day. He disputed with Newton the invention of the powerful mathematical instrument of calculus, which enabled men to command by one general method the most difficult problems in geometry and physics. Thence he proceeded to the most perplexing questions which confronted the European intellect as the result of these great scientific achievements. What relation did they bear to revealed religion? How were they to be reconciled with the old doctrines of God and of creation, of the immediate direction of the affairs of man and nature by divine intervention? How were they to be considered in relation to the connection between mind and matter, body and spirit? With him was completed the circle which had begun with theology and had come round through science again, by way of philosophy, to theology. To him, as to so many of his kind, it seemed imperative to combine somehow the obviously conflicting claims of science and religion. His doctrines of ideas, his theory of "monads," intermediary between Descartes' dualism and Spinoza's monism, conceived of elements possessing individuality, able to perceive and to strive. Of these God is chief, and the soul of man a single monad, amid the complex monads of which he is composed. Among these various elements, in his somewhat fantastic philosophy, God had established a harmony, and fused them, like the mind and body, into "infallible unison."

—his philosophy

Such was the third great effort of the human mind within a century, to find some explanation for the apparent conflict between the old theology and the new knowledge. This rapidly developing school of speculative philosophy, which sought a rational, or metaphysical explanation of the universe and man, already divided the field with revelation in matters theological. But its energies were not confined to the project of harmonizing religious belief with scientific knowledge. It was no less devoted to the explanation of the phenomena of the mind itself. And in its efforts to determine man's intellectual processes and capacity,—which was not only an extension of the work of the physiologists in the determination of the functions of the various parts of the

Rationalism

body, but the far more subtle problem of the relation between mind and matter, and, in a sense, between the finite and the infinite,—they gradually developed the study of what was known to a later generation as psychology. This was the inevitable climax of that long process which had slowly but surely brought all fields of thought and matter and activity within the scope of human investigation. With it the intellect was recognized, not as an incidental attribute, but as a separate and powerful instrument in man's service; and it became, as well, one of the principal fields of the great controversy between the scientists and the revelationists.

Psychology

Invention 1675-1700

This scientific advance went far beyond mere theory. If the concluding years of the seventeenth century are remarkable for the progress of mathematical and astronomical science, and the development of a new school of thought prepared to challenge the long dominant dogmatism of the church, they are no less to be remembered for the extension of man's physical resources in the field of invention. On every hand the ingenuity of mankind was aroused, and to this period we owe, not merely improvements in scientific apparatus, and the extension of man's knowledge and his mental capacity, but many devices of importance in every-day affairs. The progress of navigation, due to improved methods of construction, and especially to the growing knowledge of astronomy and the measurement of time, was particularly noteworthy. The increasing accuracy and wider use of watches and clocks, by the principle of the pendulum and the escapement device, evidenced that great concern for time and its measurement which distinguishes the European from most other peoples of the world. The first project for a diving-dress extended human capacities in another direction. The improvements of the age-old source of power, the water-wheel, whose newer forms were associated with the names of the Englishman Barker and the German Sprenger, indicated another line of progress which served to differentiate Europeans from all other peoples. The development of drainage, especially in Holland and in England, enlarged the resources of Europeans by the addition of vast tracts to their tillable

areas. Finally the improvement of canals and their construction, spreading again from Holland through the continent, marked the first advance in transportation since the fall of the Roman Empire.

The steam-engine

To these was joined almost immediately another device, which, working along the new line of development that was to revolutionize the world, added another resource to Europe. While Louis XIV planned his last effort to impose his will upon the continent, from English hands proceeded the first successful attempt to combine the forces of fire and water into a new source of power. In the year of the Peace of Ryswick, one Thomas Savery secured a patent for a pumping engine driven by steam, which was perhaps suggested by the Marquis of Worcester's *Century of Inventions*. The crude device was improved by Thomas Newcomen. And though its projectors were, perhaps, "neither philosophers to understand the reasons, nor mathematicians enough to calculate the powers and proportion the parts," none the less their "lucky accident" enabled them to put into men's hands the beginnings of the most powerful agency which had thus far in human history been subdued to his service. For this pumping-engine "designed to raise water by fire," which a later generation was to perfect, fitly crowned an age which marked the culmination of the great scientific movements. These, no less than humanism and absolutism, owed their origin to the fifteenth century, and now entered upon a period which was to see the triumph no less of science and invention than of popular government.

1697

Coal

Closely connected with the development of the steam-engine, as with industry generally, was the question of fuel. For, to some time toward the end of the seventeenth or the early years of the eighteenth century must be attributed the introduction into more general use of coal, which marks the great change between modern industry and the age which preceded. It was a matter of vital importance to all mankind. From the beginning of time men had used wood or charcoal made from it, almost if not quite exclusively in the manufacture of their most useful metal, iron, and its prod-

ucts. So long as wood was cheap and plentiful it had proved sufficient for their purpose in smelting and working ore and metal. But it had two drawbacks. It confined iron-working to those districts where it was possible to secure such fuel, and the supply was relatively limited. As time went on these hindrances became greater. The growth of population at once increased the demand for fuel and iron, while the supply of wood decreased in like proportion. For centuries the use of coal had been relatively common for heating and domestic purposes generally, but it was considered unhealthy, and its industrial function was all but negligible. Now, however, the scarcity of wood, the imperative necessity for greater quantities of iron, and the greater attention to mechanical appliances combined to compel a substitute for charcoal. It is probable that the use of coal on a larger and more practicable scale in iron-working originated in England. It soon spread through the continent, wherever it was available. And though it was not for generations reckoned as equal to the fuel which it supplanted, a multitude of minor improvements in the methods of its use gradually accomplished that revolution in the production of a metal whose infinite adaptations in later times transformed a world of wood into a world of coal and iron.

Statistics

That transformation was accompanied, especially in England, by two other phenomena belonging rather to the field of organized society, in its broader sense. These helped to complete a readjustment long needed in that realm. The remarkable commercial and industrial development of the seventeenth century was marked—as all such movements are marked—by changes in the thought and practice not only of the world of business, but of the philosophy and procedure of governments. To Antwerp is attributed the origin of that system of "securities" or shares of stock, which, developed especially among the Dutch, revolutionized the whole basis of commercial and industrial venture. To the great Dutch statesman, John de Witt, is attributed that system of calculating population statistics, particularly those of life and death, which served as the basis for life insurance; to

the Englishman Petty the compilation of figures relating to national wealth and welfare, which he called "political arithmetic," and which became the basis not only of statistics but of taxation and in no small degree of administration. To the French minister Colbert must be allowed the distinction of putting into effect the principle of using the old revenue system of customs duties for the purpose of encouraging domestic industries, under the now familiar device known as a protective tariff.

Mercantilism

That expedient, which owes its modern development as a national policy to the last half of the seventeenth century, was fortified by an economic doctrine which rapidly grew into a school of thought and practice that long dominated European commerce and politics, and has not wholly died out to-day. It was known as mercantilism, and under that name became the guiding policy of most European states during the eighteenth century, with profound results not only in the field of trade but in public affairs, national, international, and colonial. It was based primarily upon the fallacy that wealth, especially national wealth, was measured only in terms of precious metals. It was reinforced by the equally fallacious observation that while Spain and Portugal had possessed great revenues from their oversea possessions, they had been powerful, and took no account of the fact that it was the decline of Spain's energy and internal economy rather than the decrease of her income from America which sapped her strength.

To this doctrine Mun's pamphlet on "England's Wealth by Forraign Trade" gave impetus; and its effect was to direct the attention of statesmen toward measures designed above everything else to keep the national store of specie intact or to increase it. To such height did this principle reach that companies trading oversea were long compelled to give security to bring back as much bullion as they took out specie. However these doctrines of the so-called mercantilist school varied in their application by different nations and at different times they were identical in the encouragement of domestic industry and commerce—in particular of exports—

and the discouragement of imports. They were no less notable for the negotiation of treaties favorable to these ends, and the development of navies and merchant marines, above all of colonies from which raw materials could be drawn and to which exports could be sent—in brief, commercial and industrial independence, and highly restricted intercourse. Such a system, apart from the obvious impossibility of its maintenance by all nations engaged in manufacturing and trade at the same time, had at once elements of weakness and of strength. It enormously increased the national spirit at the expense of international relationships and comity. It restricted the exchange of ideas as well as of goods, and developed national character as distinct from that of Europe in general. Finally, as events were to prove, it tended to alienate Europeans oversea from their home governments, and so hastened the great schism which was to divide the European world.

Clubs

At the same time another great change came over European, in particular English, life by the establishment of those social organizations to which we give the name of clubs. These were, and, in no small degree remain, the peculiar product of Anglo-Saxon character. The idea was, indeed, not new. The classical, especially the Roman world, had known such associations, though not precisely in their modern form. At all times the connection of men bent upon a common purpose, spiritual, intellectual, commercial, had bred societies of infinite form and number. But with the rise of city life and the peculiar condition of "loneliness in a crowd" which it produces, the gregarious instinct began to take shape, especially in London, in this organization which provided a meeting-place, the comforts of life, and a congenial society for its members. Its earliest forms were connected with those coffee-houses which the preceding generation had established in such abundance, and its earliest organization was loose in the extreme. But as its advantages to the individual, and its peculiar appeal to the nature of the Anglo-Saxon male, came to be recognized, it developed rapidly; and, within a generation, it had become a great factor in the life of

upper-class English society. Thence, as time went on, it spread, though slowly, to other nations; and though it has never taken the same hold upon them as among the people with whom it originated, it has remained a permanent and important factor in the lives of a large and influential section of society throughout the earth. A later generation was to see the transference of this principle, in different forms, to France. There, far more than in England itself, it was to play a great part in politics, and to become no small factor in the overthrow of the absolutist tradition so carefully fostered under the Grand Monarque.

The "Age of Louis XIV"

The spirit of investigation and experiment was revealed in many varying forms. Whether expressed in the foundation of economics and psychology, in the enunciation of the theory of gravitation or in the establishment of national finance; in the triumph of parliamentary government or the invention of a steam-engine, it discovered new powers and new capabilities, no less than new theories and devices. With them and with the increasingly pervasive influence of capital, commerce, and colonies, the Age of Louis XIV becomes, in another view, the age of science and invention, of rationalism, of popular government and mercantilism, rather than merely another era of the aggrandizement of royalism, of nationalism, and of dynastic interests. And could one have looked forward a generation further, he might have seen in the development of these forces rather than in the more spectacular affairs of war and diplomacy, that the apparent triumph of the old order was but the prelude to its decline before the new elements of society. Whatever may be said of the years between 1661 and 1678 as the Age of Louis XIV, it is apparent that the period between the latter date and the beginning of the eighteenth century might better be named from William III. For it was the Anglo-Dutch spirit and practice which he personified that met the system of the Grand Monarque on more than equal terms. If Louis XIV crowned the long evolution of absolute statecraft, William III stood at the beginning of even greater developments.

Popular government

Among these, in the realm of political theory and practice, one factor was pre-eminent. This was the principle of popular government, which, during the preceding fifty years, had found its greatest expression in England. It was the product of a long development of doctrine as well as of procedure. For it was the result of the growing strength of the middle classes, as well as of the philosophical speculation which provided them with a rational foundation for their claims to a determining share in public affairs. And it was due no less to the devotion to historical precedent and law, which had always been so characteristic of the Anglo-Saxon race. This, it has been observed, was at once stimulated and reinforced by the activity of the lawyers, who found in the field of national affairs an opportunity to enlarge the scope of their talents and principles, which was all but impossible to their continental brethren.

Law

In some measure, indeed, this renewed activity of lawyers and this emergence of modern public law was evident on the continent throughout the seventeenth century. But there it took a somewhat different course. The power of the absolutist kings was too great for courts and lawyers, unsupported by an overwhelming body of public sentiment, such as existed in England, to have much influence in domestic affairs. But, beginning with Grotius, there had begun to develop those principles which govern the relations between states; and beside the evolution of diplomacy and diplomats which characterized that century, went on the rapid development of international law. To Grotius succeeded the Saxon jurist Pufendorf, whose work, *De Jure Naturae et Gentium,* continued the doctrines laid down by his great predecessor and added to them the principles enunciated by the English political philosopher Hobbes. This effort "to evolve from the study of human nature a system of jurisprudence which should be of universal and permanent applicability," based itself on the three sources of law, as he conceived them, reason, the old civil law, and divine revelation. He went still further in his inclusion not only of Christian but of non-Christian peoples in the bonds of common humanity;

Pufendorf 1632-94

and he anticipated the prophets of a later age in his declaration that the will of the state is but the sum of the wills of the individuals which compose it.

His labors represent another development characteristic of the last half of the seventeenth century—the tendency to break away from the French legal tradition which had dominated Europe for nearly two hundred years. From the time when the Italian jurist, Alciati, had settled in France on the invitation of Francis I and begun that long career of instruction which made his adopted country the center of European jurisprudence—and brought him John Calvin as a student—French legal primacy had been an acknowledged fact. "The *mos Gallicus* had become the fashion in the juristic world"; and it was hardly before the middle of the seventeenth century that this tradition began to disappear. Among the early evidences of its decline had been the work of Pufendorf and the beginning of the publication of those English law reports which presently swelled to such proportions and such importance. But if French legal eminence narrowed, it strengthened. The general reorganization which overtook France under Louis XIV included the field of law; and the labors of Domat and his fellows consolidated and systematized French law and procedure into greater unity and efficiency. With this general process of collecting and codifying the various legal systems then in vogue in Europe, modern jurisprudence may be said to have finally begun. And this, were there no other development of these years, would have made this age a notable period in European history. The process was naturally unequal and by no means thorough; but it evidenced in this field, as in so many others, that general tendency to seek new bases of faith and conduct for a society busy with the manifold problems of an existence altered in almost every particular from that which had dominated Europe two centuries earlier.

With Pufendorf there came an advance not only in law but in political philosophy. While the lawyers of the continent devoted themselves to the practice of their profession, they held to the old civil codes derived from Roman sources,

modified, as the generations went on, by the exigencies of their own environment, with little change in either principles or practices. Pufendorf, almost alone, contributed to that advance in the conceptions of jurisprudence and the state with which the English lawyers were so greatly concerned; and he, in consequence, became the model for a school of continental jurists whose labors paralleled the more political activities of the English lawyers. Continental law, indeed, unlike that of England, took no account of that system of court practice which, by the use of a jury, introduced what may be called a popular element into legal procedure. It took still less account of laws enacted by a legislature. And in this, as in so many other directions, the European world was sharply divided into continental and Anglo-Saxon lines of development. In the former the dictum held by Louis XIV and his contemporaries, *Suprema lex voluntas regis,* the supreme law is the will of the king, was almost universally prevalent. And nothing better illustrates the divergent principles at work in public affairs than the contrast between this motto and that of the English law, *Salus populi suprema lex,* the welfare of the people is the supreme law. In that contradiction lay the prophecy of ultimate conflict.

Locke 1632-1704

Finally this long evolution was crowned by the genius of the Englishman John Locke, who, no less in mental than in political philosophy, became the prophet of a new school of thinkers, then slowly rising not only to recognition but to dominance in the field of European thought. It is a coincidence of no ordinary interest that his great work, the *Essay on the Human Understanding,* appeared in the year of the English Revolution of 1688. Moreover, an exile in Holland, whither, as the friend and secretary of Shaftesbury, he had been compelled to flee, he became, in a sense, the co-worker and heir of that school which, from Descartes to Spinoza, found refuge in the nation that had stood as the champion of liberty and individuality against all arbitrary and absolutist powers from Philip II to Louis XIV.

To Locke the great guide was reasonableness. He denounced the efforts of those metaphysicists who, in their endeavors to understand the universe and its Creator, pushed their speculations beyond the reach of human intelligence. He opposed the efforts of those dogmatists who would have stifled all inquiry by their belief in revelation. He denied the doctrine of "innate" ideas, pronouncing for that of "experience"; which, in turn, he conceived of as a combination of observation and reflection. The soul, he declared, was an "empty tablet," gradually inscribed by the activities of life. And, as opposed to positive conceptions, he offered the doctrine of relative conceptions, of probabilities and presumptions, such as must confront real men living in a real world. With him, indeed, we come more nearly to psychology, which was to be the next advance in philosophy. In such fashion he approached the great social and political problems. Here, as in everything else, he loved order, and usefulness, and, above all, reason. As his essay on the *Reasonableness of Christianity* in some sort represents his religious attitude, so his *Letters on Toleration* and his *Treatises on Government* express his political views in the same spirit which infused his philosophy. These, in brief, concerned themselves with the doctrines of civil liberty. Advancing from the position of Hobbes, he became the champion of the individual in affairs of state as in those of faith. In each field he applied that reason in which he found at once the chief expression of his own belief, and the principal weapon against irrational assumptions of authority, whether in matters civil or ecclesiastical.

—his philosophy

It was inevitable that he should find himself entirely hostile to such doctrines as those of the divine right of kings which Filmer had advanced, and among his contributions to political thought, the chief is to be found in the attack upon the *Patriarchia*. It was no less inevitable that in his teachings every school then marshalling its forces against the intrenched powers of autocracy and dogma should find comfort. He was himself as much opposed to that latitudinarianism which renounced every element of mysticism

and tended toward atheism, as he was to the party which founded itself on the pure dogma of revelation. He was no less the antagonist of that party which denied all political authority and tended toward anarchy, than of the champions of divine right; and, in consequence, this "apostle of reasonableness" contributed to the success of those who, from this time forth, sought to extend the bases of reason as against authority in every field. Thus he became the prophet of the reform and presently of the revolution which brought to ruin the principles and practices of the political school whose chief exponent was the French king.

In such fashion, as the seventeenth century came to a close, the issue was joined between the old school and the new in the realms of philosophical and religious thought, and in the theory and practice of government, at the same time that new elements of strength were added to the resources of mankind. It is a common device of those historians who strive to wean unwilling readers from the more stirring events of the world of action, the fine-spun schemes of diplomats, and the spectacular activities of captains and of kings, to emphasize the greater importance of these duller chronicles of scientists, inventors, and thinkers. To most men no literary art can make them comparable in interest with the dramatic vividness of battles lost and won, of great designs carried to victory or defeat, of the unending human comedy and tragedy whose conflicts form the undying theme of human interest. The study can never compete with the field of battle as the subject of history. Yet, in a wider view, the multitudinous activities of these untitled leaders of the common cause of humanity, engaged in this great conflict with the forces of ignorance and the dark, the struggle of these champions of liberty with those of intrenched dogma and autocracy and these discoverers of new knowledge and new power, take on an aspect no less dramatic, and far more important to the cause of progress than all the glittering triumphs of statesmen and generals. For the cause which they championed, the interest which they served, are those which went to make the world we call our own. As

The "new course"

the great German philosopher observed, the object of universal history is the growth of a world community pursuing a common purpose, the ultimate purpose of man, the creation and diffusion of knowledge and beauty. And in the fields of knowledge and capacity, popular government, and freedom of thought, these pioneers of the forces of light drove their mines deep under that stately edifice of worldly power which, at the height of his glory, the Grand Monarque was raising before the eyes of men. That edifice was to endure scarcely a century. To its fall, as to the structure which arose in its place, it was the glory of these leaders of thought to contribute; and from their efforts, rather than from the achievements of those who filled the world's eye, came the next advance in the real progress of mankind.

CHAPTER XXIX

THE WAR OF THE SPANISH SUCCESSION AND THE REORGANIZATION OF EUROPE. 1700-1720

It has been observed that many of the apparent differences which seem to distinguish the tendencies of successive periods of history are due less to real divergence of aims than to changes in modes of expression. What to one generation is known as religious is not infrequently called political by another, and perhaps social by a third. But even if that were true the very changes in terminology indicate a certain shifting of the prevailing temper of men which accompanies or foreshadows a real alteration of spirit or purpose. Beginning with the period of the Thirty Years' War the conspicuous feature of the political development of continental Europe had been the rise of France and Sweden to the dominance of the European system. Between them they had prevented the establishment of the Hapsburg Empire as a real political unit. France completed the work begun by England and Holland in breaking the power of Spain. Sweden and the north German Protestants had limited Austrian influence to southeastern Europe. Their activities aided the English and the Dutch who had destroyed the monopoly of Spain and Portugal beyond the sea and in many quarters replaced it with their own ascendancy. Moreover, during the seventeenth century, even before the Thirty Years' War came to an end, the words Catholic and Protestant had begun to lose much of their force in politics. By the middle of the reign of Louis XIV there were still apparent in European affairs the feverish ambitions of princes and peoples which tended inevitably toward the recurrence of universal war. But those ambitions were no longer religious in name or fact; they were national and

The results of the 17th century

above all dynastic; and they were conditioned by the results of the changes which had taken place during the preceding century.

Europe at the beginning of the 18th century

Those changes were far-reaching and profound. Within a hundred years the continent had been slowly transformed into a political structure whose outlines were more familiar to modern eyes than they had been during the sixteenth century. Since that time there had been evolved a group of powers, fairly stable in form and character; more highly organized as political and military units; more conscious of their existence and situation and of their relation to their neighbors; and better prepared to maintain or extend their power. Moreover, with few exceptions, they were controlled by royal houses, inspired by the spirit of "high politics." These made war and diplomacy the chief business of life. They were influenced by few considerations which we group under the name of nationality, and determined to reckon their greatness by the accumulation of territories and subjects. From their antagonisms arose the next stage of European disturbance, and its outbreak marks with much definiteness another age of public affairs.

The European system

The national kingdoms of Spain, Portugal, France, and England, the Netherlands, the German and Italian principalities, the Swiss republic, and the Hapsburg power, amid the rivalries, entanglements, and alterations incident to a vigorous political activity, formed, from the Atlantic to the Oder and the middle Danube, a fairly well-defined and recognized system. Beyond this much was indeterminate. The lower Danube remained a land debatable between the Turkish Empire and its enemies. The Baltic states were in unstable equilibrium. Swedish ascendancy was challenged on every side. The pretensions of Denmark, the precarious position of Poland, the rising power of Brandenburg, the vast and obscure ambitions of Russia, combined to menace the peace of eastern Europe and pointed out that quarter of the continent as the probable scene of a great struggle for political predominance.

At the same time the more general causes of disturbance,—

Spain and Sweden

the old Hapsburg-Bourbon rivalry, joined to the newer antagonism of the Anglo-Dutch conflict with France,—foreboded another era of European war. This was the situation of the continent after the Treaty of Ryswick; and scarcely had that treaty been signed when two concurrent circumstances threatened to disrupt the peace of the world. The one was the question of the Spanish Succession, a dynastic issue which involved the future not of Europe alone but of a great part of her possessions oversea. The other was the sudden revival of Sweden's energies under the impulse of the last great figure of the Vasa house, Charles XII, and the ensuing effort to regain its old supremacy.

The Spanish question

Of these the first was of more immediate importance and of wider scope. The circumstances were, on their face, simple enough. The King of Spain, Charles II, last of the Spanish Hapsburgs, was childless and near his end. For his possessions arose three aspirants, Louis XIV, Leopold I, and the Electoral prince of Bavaria, each basing his claim upon heredity with widely varying degrees of merit. Had other circumstances not complicated the issue, it might well have been determined by diplomatic processes. But the problem was not as simple as it seemed, for it was far less legal than political. England and Holland, the great naval powers, were equally unwilling to see the Indies revert to France or Austria; Louis XIV was no less opposed to the revival of the empire of Charles V; Leopold would not willingly permit the house of Hapsburg to be replaced by that of Bourbon on the Spanish throne, and France to cross the Pyrenees.

The Partition Treaties 1698

Under conditions thus pointing to inevitable war, Louis XIV and his diplomats moved to preserve French interests and avoid widespread conflict by a negotiation. As a result, a twelvemonth after Ryswick, there was signed the so-called first partition treaty. By its terms Spain, the Indies, and Spanish Netherlands were assigned to the electoral prince of Bavaria; Milan to Leopold's son, the Archduke Charles; Naples and Sicily, the Tuscan ports, and Guipuzcoa to the French dauphin. Had Charles consented to this division

it might well have saved Europe from war. But, angered by the disposal of his lands without consulting him, he gained the assent of England and the Netherlands, and made the boy prince, the Elector of Bavaria, his sole heir. But the boy died. French intrigue recommenced, and, in the last months of the seventeenth century, a new partition treaty assigned Spain and the Indies to the Archduke Charles; Naples, Lorraine, and Sicily to the Dauphin; and Milan to the Duke of Lorraine. Again Charles II, now under the influence of the French party and ambassador at his court, intervened; devised his lands to Louis XIV's grandson, Philip of Anjou; and died, leaving to Europe a fearful heritage of war. Louis XIV hesitated a moment, but the dynastic impulse was too strong. He accepted the will and recognized his grandson as Philip V of Spain; sent him to his inheritance and prepared to fight. At the same moment the exiled James II died; Louis recognized his son as King of England, and, so far as western Europe was concerned, made the conflict inevitable.

March 1700

Nov. 1700

The War of the Spanish Succession 1702

These, in brief, were the outlines of a long and bitter diplomatic duel which led to another catastrophe. At once Europe became an armed camp. Against the Grand Alliance of England, the Netherlands, and Austria were arrayed France, Savoy, Cologne, and Bavaria. And though, with the beginning of hostilities, William III died, the three leaders on whom the burden fell, the English Marlborough, the Savoyard Prince Eugene, and the Dutch pensionary Heinsius, proved worthy successors as opponents of the Grand Monarque. For ten bloody years all western Europe, save the prize of the quarrel, Spain, felt the pressure of the conflict. Beginning with the battle of Blenheim, where Marlborough and Eugene defeated the French and Bavarians, through Marlborough's victory of Ramillies, Eugene's at Turin, and their joint triumph over the French at Oudenarde, the first seven years of the war did much to humble France. The Archduke Charles was, indeed, unable to maintain himself against his popular antagonist in Spain, but Eugene's victory destroyed French influence in Italy and gave him Lombardy.

1704

1706

1708

1704 The English overran the Spanish Netherlands and seized Gibraltar, where for more than two centuries they have held the key to the Mediterranean.

1708-9 With the crowning catastrophe of Oudenarde, reinforced by the sufferings of the ensuing winter, whose severity further enfeebled France, Louis XIV sought terms. To the surrender of Spain to Charles; the border fortresses to the Netherlands; Strassburg and Breisach to the Emperor; to the recognition of Anne as Queen of England and the banishment of the Stuart pretenders from his realm, he gave assent. But with the last demand that he should help the allies drive Philip from Spain, his patience broke; France responded to his appeal and the war was renewed. But fortune still went against him. The overwhelming victory of Marlborough and

1709 Eugene at Malplaquet more than offset Philip's success in Spain, and Louis was driven finally to consent to pay troops to fight for Charles against his own grandson.

1710-11 But with this last humiliation the tide began to turn. In England, the Tories replaced the Whigs, and Marlborough fell from power. In Austria the Emperor Joseph's death set Charles upon the Hapsburg throne, and revived the fear of the empire of Charles V. In the Low Countries the French, relieved from the genius of the great English duke, began to win victories. And, as the balance turned in favor of Louis XIV, all sides again sought peace. After twelve years

1713-1714 of war, the treaties of Utrecht, and, after another year of conflict, those of Rastadt and Baden, brought Europe again to equilibrium. With them ended Louis XIV's great attempt to dominate the continent, and, for the time being, French ascendancy.

The Peace of Utrecht 1713 By this series of treaties, the greatest since Westphalia, England secured the Protestant succession to the throne; with Newfoundland, Hudson's Bay, and Nova Scotia in America; Gibraltar and Minorca in the Mediterranean; and the so-called Asiento or right to furnish slaves to Spanish colonies. The Netherlands procured the right to garrison the Barrier or border fortresses, from Furnes to Namur; and the destruction of the French forts at Dunkirk. Austria

obtained the Spanish Netherlands, Naples, Sardinia, and Milan; with the status established at Ryswick. Spain kept her king, and rectified frontiers with Portugal in South America. Brandenburg was re-named the Kingdom of Prussia and gained Neuchâtel with part of Gueldres in exchange for her claim on Orange, which went to France. And, from the wreck of his ambitions, Louis XIV retained Lille and its neighbors, with recognition of his grandson's claim. The war between Spain and the Emperor went on, and the former endeavored to regain her appanages in Italy. But six years thereafter a quadruple alliance among France, England, Holland, and the Empire to maintain the terms of Utrecht compelled Savoy to exchange Sicily for Sardinia, whence her rulers took their royal title; and in return for imperial recognition of the Bourbons in Spain, the latter renounced their pretensions in Sicily and Sardinia.

1718-19

1720

The end of the Age of Louis XIV

Such was the result of the great conflict which absorbed western Europe in the first two decades of the eighteenth century—the substitution of Bourbon for Hapsburg in Spain and of Hapsburg for Bourbon in Italy; the transfer of the Spanish Netherlands to Austria; and the collapse of Louis XIV's ambition to dominate the continent. Two years after the Peace of Utrecht the Grand Monarque died, leaving his state all but bankrupt in wealth and strength; his projects, save for Alsace and a few border fortresses, brought to naught; and the glittering edifice of courtly despotism which he had raised little more than an empty shell. The fifth attempt to bring Europe under the domination of a particular set of forces and formulæ had failed. What Roman and Frank, Papacy and Empire and Spanish-Hapsburg power had been unable to attain had again been proved impossible, and again Europe had vindicated her ineradicable determination to rest her unity on a general community of civilization rather than on the supremacy of any single state or doctrine. Unity in diversity and balance of power had again been proved the pillars of the continental system.

1715

European rulers and states

But even the great war which filled the first two decades of the history of western Europe by no means exhausted the

importance of that period in the political development of the continent. The years which saw the collapse of Louis XIV's ambitions had witnessed a series of minor changes among his allies and his enemies, which, like his own great adventure, bore within them seeds of a new order and of new conflicts.

1714 Almost at the moment he left the scene of his activities the death of Anne brought to the English throne the Elector of Hanover as George I; and the failure of the rebellion which the Stuart pretender, James III so-called, essayed

1715 against his rival ensured not merely the triumph of the Hanoverian house but parliamentary and Protestant supremacy, with the dominance of its champions, the Whigs. This was the more significant in that, during the crisis of the great war just past, England and Scotland, after a century of personal union under the crown, had finally achieved a legislative union under Parliament. Moreover,

The Act of Union England had crowned her long connection with Portugal by the great Methuen treaty of commerce—and so, among other results, replaced Burgundy with port on British dinner tables.

1707 The Act of Union which took effect at the moment of the allies' triumph over the French was designed to compose the antagonisms aroused by the revolution, and the bitterness produced by the failure of the Scotch Darien Company. Thenceforth England was relieved in large measure from the danger which had long threatened her from her sister kingdom, and Scotland exchanged her partial autonomy for sub-

1697 stantial share in England's wealth and power. The Elector of Saxony had long since become king of Poland, and this circumstance, with Hanoverian kingship in England, the elevation of Savoy and Brandenburg to like rank, altered the titular situation of the continent.

But the effect was deeper far than that. Thenceforth Prussian ambition tended to translate its title into fact, and to extend this new-won dignity over increasing territory to the further disturbance of European peace. The personal union of Poland with Saxony and of England with Hanover tended to involve those extra-German states in the ambitions of the Hohenzollerns. Thus, among the remoter results of

the War of the Spanish Succession, these dynastic changes were to bear fruit in another no less far-reaching conflict, on whose event the fortunes of the European world during the next generation were to depend.

The Northern War

Meanwhile, however, another series of events divided with the War of the Spanish Succession the interests and the energies of European peoples. These centered in the so-called Northern War. During the years that England and Holland, Spain, Austria, France, Savoy, and German states, made their half of Europe a battlefield, the circumstances of the east were of no less importance and of even greater dramatic interest, while they were intensified by a personal rivalry which succeeded the long duel between William III and Louis XIV. This was the struggle between Charles XII of Sweden and his enemies, of whom the chief was Peter the Great of Russia. And what the eastern conflict lacked in dynastic importance it more than made up in a spectacular quality which far exceeded the subtler antagonism of Bourbon and Orange, and in a tragic intensity strengthened by its romantic adventures and its savage background.

Its earlier course followed closely the developments of the western war. At the moment that the Peace of Ryswick was signed, Charles had ascended the Swedish throne and 1697
Peter finally gained the ascendancy over his turbulent nobility. At the moment that the partition treaties were being drawn, Russia, Denmark, and Saxony-Poland signed a not 1698-9
dissimilar agreement to wrest from Sweden those provinces which the house of Vasa had combined, during the preceding century, in its attempt to make the Baltic a Swedish lake. And the summer that saw the culmination of French intrigues which led to Charles II's will and the final alignment of the western powers, witnessed the joint attack of the allies 1700
on Sweden. With it began the Northern War, which, running parallel with the War of the Spanish Succession, determined the fortunes of the east, as the conflict between Louis XIV and his enemies determined those of the west.

Charles XII

The allies, counting on the weakness of Sweden under the rule of a boy-king but fifteen years of age, had promised

themselves an easy triumph. Never was expectation doomed to greater disappointment. While the Saxons advanced upon
1700 Livonia and the Danes invaded Schleswig, Charles landed unexpectedly in Zealand, threatened the Danish capital, and extracted from the astonished Danes the Peace of Travendal and their withdrawal from hostilities. Hastening thence across the Baltic, where the Russians were besieging Narva, the Swedish king fell on their army and overwhelmed it.
1701- Thence he turned against the Saxons, compelled them to raise the siege of Riga, invaded Lithuania, took Warsaw, defeated the Poles and Saxons in two successive engagements,
1704 and caused the election of his Polish adherent, Stanislaus Leszczinski, in place of Augustus of Saxony, as king of Poland. Following his advantage, he drove the Saxons before him and, at the instant that Marlborough's victory of Ramillies gave the Austrian Netherlands to the allies, Charles com-
1706 pelled Augustus to renounce his Russian alliance, abdicate the Polish throne in favor of Stanislaus, and supply the Swedish army for the next campaign.

This rapid succession of brilliant achievements now brought the romantic figure of the Swedish boy-king to European eminence. In the six years which comprised the first period of the War of the Spanish Succession, Charles XII had conquered and divided his enemies, raised Swedish arms to a height they had not attained since the days of Gustavus, and regained Sweden's pre-eminence. From this achievement he turned to complete his triumph by the conquest of Russia; and all eastern Europe was absorbed in the fierce rivalry of the great antagonists.

Peter the Great and Charles XII

Seldom have two national leaders been more unlike than Peter the Great and Charles. The one, of loose morals and violent disposition in private, ruled public matters with unlimited patience and deliberate resolution. The other, passionless and of rigid private morality, pursued impossible political visions with incredible obstinacy. While Charles, with marvelous military skill, overwhelmed his enemies by rapid and brilliant strokes which dazzled the imagination, he allowed his hatred of the Saxon-Polish king to lead him

from what should have been his chief object, the crushing of Russia. While the Swedes were busy in Poland and Saxony, Peter founded a new capital, St. Petersburg, among the Neva marshes, besieged and captured Narva, and trained 1703-4
an army with the aid of his west-European engineers and officers. When Charles turned from Saxony against Russia, he found his march to Moscow rendered impossible by the devastation of the country. Lured from that enterprise by the Cossack hetman, Mazeppa, who renounced his Russian 1708
allegiance, Charles marched southward into his new ally's country, the Ukraine, where he wasted time and energy in the siege of the Russian fortress of Poltava. There Peter, with an overwhelming force, fell on the exhausted and starving Swedes, defeated and destroyed their army, and at one blow 1709
demolished the edifice of Swedish supremacy. Thus, by wholly different means, the great antagonists arrived at the crisis of their careers, whose results reflected the influence of their respective characters.

The succeeding events brought those antagonisms into higher relief. As Eugene and Marlborough overthrew Louis XIV's last army at Malplaquet and marched into France, Charles XII took refuge with the Turks. As the fall of 1709-10
Marlborough and the death of the Emperor Joseph turned the tide in favor of the French, Charles' new allies advanced upon Russia, and surrounded Peter's army on the Pruth, where The Russo-Turkish War and the Peace of Pruth 1711-
the Czar was preserved from destruction only by the bribery of the Turkish leaders. The Peace of Pruth restored Azof to the Turks and guaranteed the safe return of Charles to his kingdom; but the infatuated hero refused to depart, and harassed the patience of the Porte for three more years, while his rivals improved his absence to annex his lands. Augustus drove the Swedes from Poland; the Danes, though they failed to conquer the southern Swedish provinces, took Schleswig from Holstein-Gottorp, together with Bremen and Verden, which they gave to Hanover for her aid against Sweden. Peter the Great occupied the Swedish provinces along 1714
the eastern Baltic from Livonia to Finland; the Prussians occupied Stettin; the Poles and Danes invaded Pomerania.

The Northern War and the Peace of Nystadt 1714-18

Such was the result of Charles XII's obstinate sojourn among the Turks. His return, which coincided with the Peace of Utrecht, was signalized by an alliance of all the northern powers against him. For four years, amid negotiations with Russia and expeditions against Norway, which had improved the opportunity to revolt, Charles struggled on against his enemies until an assassin's shot ended the stormy and disastrous adventure of his reign. The crown, deprived of many of its earlier prerogatives, devolved on Charles' sister and so to her husband, the Duke of Hesse-Cassel; and the long northern rivalry was ended by the treaties of Stockholm and Friedrichsburg, crowned presently with the Peace of Nystadt. By them Sweden lost Bremen and Verden to Hanover; Stettin, West Pomerania, and two islands to Prussia; Livonia, Esthonia, Ingermanland, and part of Karelia, with some islands, to Russia. Though she regained Finland, exchanged her conquests with Denmark, and received money indemnities, her defeat was scarcely measured even by her lost territories. Shorn of her Baltic provinces save two, weakened, discredited, she fell from her high place, and the same twelvemonth, which finally confirmed the peace of western Europe on the basis of the terms of Utrecht, saw Sweden removed from the ranks of first-rate European powers, and her throne occupied by another of those German houses which, in this period, supplied kings to half the thrones of Europe.

1719

1721

The Austro-Turkish War and the Peace of Passarowitz 1714

This was not the end of the excursions and alarms which vexed the continent in this warlike period. The Swedish king's adventures not merely roused the Cossacks against their masters, they inspired the Turks to dreams of fresh conquest. Revived by their experience against the Russians, they turned again to attack the decaying power of Venice. From her they wrested the Morea, the last of her mainland possessions; and only the intervention of the Empire preserved her remaining island ports. But the pacification of the west brought Austria's great captain, the Prince Eugene, against them, and before his genius they gave way. His victory of Peterwardein and the ensuing siege and

1716-17

capture of Belgrade not merely drove them finally beyond the Danube but secured Hungary against the danger of further attack. By the ensuing Peace of Passarowitz, Venice 1718
was compelled to cede the Morea, but she retained her conquests in Dalmatia, while Austria obtained the Banat of Temesvar, Belgrade, and part of Servia, with western or Little Wallachia. Thenceforth these Danubian territories were to be no longer a land debatable, but a military frontier against the declining power of the Ottomans.

Political results

These were the chief political readjustments resulting from the great wars that convulsed the continent in the first decades of the eighteenth century. In large measure those conflicts conditioned the development not only of Europe's polity but of her civilization. Yet they by no means fully determined that progress. The Northern War, indeed, played its part in the evolution of the Russian empire which now began to take an active share in European affairs. But the energies of Russia's ruler and his subjects were not bounded by the exigencies of war. The alienation of the Spanish empire from Hapsburg to Bourbon, though destined to great ultimate consequence, had little enough immediate effect, even where it was known, upon the millions of its subjects in South America. The transfer of the English succession from Stuart to Hanover scarcely affected the perpetuation of established Whig policy in England itself or in the colonies. And the accession of a Saxon ruler to the Polish throne, of a Hessian to that of Sweden, even the conveyance of Spanish appanages in Italy to Austrian princes, were of far less concern to the progress of the continent than the activities of the masses from whose energies that development came.

Russia under Peter the Great

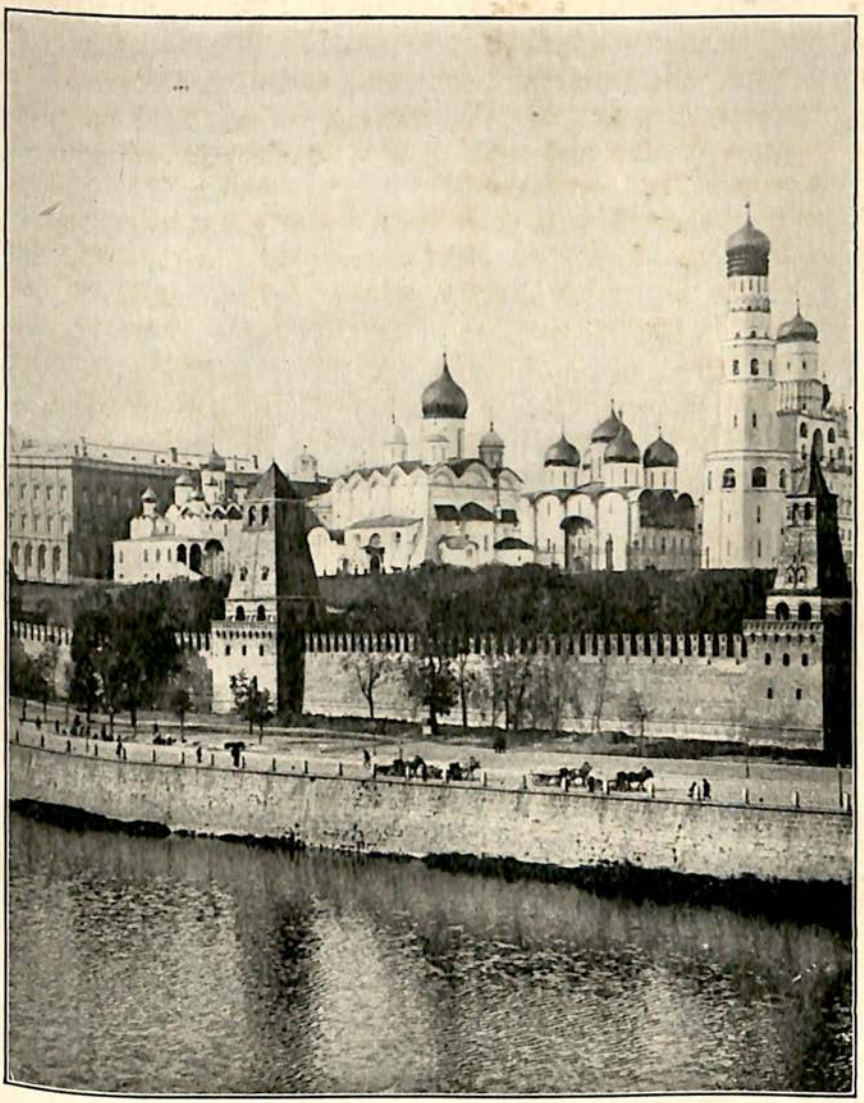
To this there was one striking exception. Of all the far-reaching influences then at work re-shaping the world, none was of more consequence than the development of those lands and societies scarcely reckoned within the European circle a century before. And of the influence of monarchs on history there is no better example than that now afforded by Peter the Great of Russia. It is scarcely too much to say that

1697-8 with his visit to western Europe, his country entered European politics. Converted to the merits of the western civilization, he strove on his return to introduce its practices among his subjects; to increase the royal authority, to reorganize the army, now first drilled, organized, and equipped after the western fashion and supplemented by the establishment of a navy. The substitution of a royal council for the council of boyars or nobles, the organization of administrative departments, the division of Russia into local governments, the revision of taxation and the reform of the church, no less than the encouragement and supervision of commerce, witnessed the fierce reforming energy of the great Czar. The foundation of a new capital, St. Petersburg, on the Baltic, his effort to gain access to the Black Sea, and the ensuing

1720-1 conflicts with Turkey and Sweden, like the extension of Russia's relations with western powers, expressed more than its ruler's determination to revolutionize and expand the Russian empire. With its expansion, the European system of government and society began to extend in a new direction far beyond its earlier confines. To the Tartar hordes which had so long pressed hard on Europe's eastern frontiers was now opposed a power which, though it still partook of Asiatic influence, became at once an outpost and an aggressive exponent of European civilization against its ancient enemy.

Russian advance into Asia 1700-25

This influence soon spread outside the formal bounds of the European continent. Far beyond the lines of its conflicts, Russian explorers and adventurers contributed to the same result. In their progress the Czar's encouragement and the impulse of science bore an equal part. The seventeenth century had seen Russian adventurers in Kamchatka and the discovery of the easternmost projection of the continent. Now, at the end of the first decade of the eighteenth century, came the promise of a new advance. Two expeditions failed to locate definitely the New Siberian islands, but the extension of Russian influence to Kamchatka was strengthened by the discovery of the Kurile islands, by new information regarding Japan, and by the survey of the Sea of Okhotsk.



THE KREMLIN, MOSCOW.

This citadel of the old capital of the Czars was surrounded by a wall about 1492. The churches show the Russo-Byzantine type of architecture and are of various dates. The Great Palace (on the left) was built after the destruction caused by Napoleon's occupation. (Photograph copyright by Underwood & Underwood.)

Before his death, Peter the Great took one more step. This was the project of exploring that remote region where the eastern and western continents were all but joined. With that, the way was finally prepared for European advance through Asia to America. Though the great Czar did not live to see it, the next step of Russian progress carried his people across the narrow strait which divides the eastern from the western world, and, in the remote regions of the north Pacific, finally brought them in touch with those powers which were even then re-shaping the destinies of North America.

The War of the Spanish Succession oversea

Upon that continent, meanwhile, the impulse of the War of the Spanish Succession had fallen with peculiar force, and no circumstance better illustrates the new unity of Europe, than the extension of that conflict beyond the sea. Nowhere in the colonial world were the three states chiefly concerned, Spain, France, and England, more powerful; nowhere were the antagonisms of their colonists more sharply defined, and nowhere, in consequence, was the conflict waged more bitterly. The Peace of Ryswick, which had ended the first stage of the struggle for the continent, had effected barely more than such a truce as the treaty of neutrality which preceded the Revolution of 1688, and the colonies had hardly waited the death of the Spanish king and the resumption of hostilities in Europe, to fly at each other's throats.

For this there was cause enough in the circumstances of American affairs, apart from European rivalry. The Peace of Ryswick was scarcely signed when the English and French each strove to anticipate the other in the seizure of the mouth of the Mississippi and the settlement of Louisiana. At the same moment, a Scotch company, under direction of 1698
the promoter of the Bank of England, Paterson, made a costly and futile attempt to found a colony at Darien. This provoked Spanish resistance, and resulted in a failure which severely strained Anglo-Scottish relations until the two nations were joined by the Act of Union. In South America 1707
the Spanish-Portuguese rivalry blazed up afresh, and, beside these new causes of antagonism, the old conflict for fisheries

and the possession of lands east of the Kennebec, added fuel to the flame of Anglo-French antagonism in the north.

Queen Anne's War

The result was a speedy renewal of hostilities. Eugene had scarcely invaded Italy when the Carolina colonists made a futile attack on St. Augustine; and William III was scarcely in his grave before the arrival of a new governor, Dudley, in Boston, not only revived the old quarrels between the province and its executive, but set New England in train for war. The succeeding decade took tone from these events.

1698 The French secured their hold on Louisiana and hurled raiding parties against the English frontier. In New England,

1704-6 Berwick, Haverhill, and Deerfield were in turn destroyed; on the south, the Spaniards and French invaded Carolina and threatened Charleston. And when the Tuscaroras took advantage of the disturbances to attack the Carolina outposts, it seemed for a time that the Franco-Spanish allies might gain in America what they lost in Europe.

But the advantage did not ultimately lie on the side of

1707 England's antagonists. A colonial force from New England failed to take Port Royal, but, three years later, the aid of

1710 an English fleet reduced that stronghold, now re-named Annapolis. And though an expedition against Canada, a twelvemonth later, was not successful, the English colonists found themselves no longer in much danger from their foes in that quarter. Meanwhile the southern colonies were even more aggressive. The Spanish and French were expelled from

1711-12 Carolina with great loss. The Tuscaroras were not merely defeated but driven from their homes, and the broken remnants of their tribe, flying from English vengeance, took refuge with the Iroquois.

The North American colonies 1713-20

With the Treaty of Utrecht peace again fell on the western world. Acadia remained in English hands and the Five Nations subject to their rule. The colonists' position thus strengthened, they turned to other tasks. The seven years which followed were absorbed in regulating relations with each other and with the Indians; in the suppression of piracy, and the settlement of boundary differences. Here they were

no less successful. In Carolina the Indians were finally driven into Spanish territory; in which as well as in New Providence the last remnants of piracy and buccaneering were put down. Carolina, indeed, remained a storm-center to the end; and the final effort of the Spaniards to crush this English outpost was accompanied by the beginnings of a movement to overthrow proprietary government, with which there commenced a new chapter in the history of the English colonies in North America.

The South American colonies 1700-20

The effects of the War of the Spanish Succession were felt in regions remote from the conflict in North America or even the Caribbean. Far to the south, the struggle for a foothold on the north bank of the Plata had meanwhile broken out with new vigor. From Buenos Ayres the Spanish governor led a force against the Portuguese post of Colonia. The Jesuits, relieved of the fear of Indian raids, left their island post at Sariano for the mainland; and for a time it seemed that Uruguay, or the Eastern Province, as it was called, might come at once into the hands of Spain. That hope the Peace of Utrecht defeated and Portugal resumed for a brief period possession of Colonia and projected the occupation of Montevideo. At the same moment the Creoles of Santa Fé finally overpowered the Charruas, who had held back their advance for a century and a half, and found their way to and across the Uruguay. With this, and the foundation of the river towns to secure their frontiers, the history of the Provincia Oriental, or Uruguay, may be said to begin. And at the same time that English colonists made good their position in North America, Spanish and Portuguese divided between them the rich and long debatable lands east of the Plata. Thus at the opposite ends of European empire in America were now determined the lines of future development.

1716

Uruguay

Minas Geraes

In other quarters the rival South American powers found no less rewards. Though the Brazilian Portuguese were finally balked by their Spanish rivals of the Argentine in their efforts to take complete possession of the Uruguayan lands, they found rich compensation elsewhere. In the last decade

1692-5

of the seventeenth century, Paulista prospectors had finally reached the long-suspected gold deposits about the head of the San Francisco River. As the European war broke out, a mining rush such as the world had not seen since those of Zacatecas and Potosi poured thousands of colonists and Portuguese into this field. The province of Minas Geraes rose as by magic between Rio Janeiro and Pernambuco. From its mines there flowed into Europe a stream of gold unparalleled since the Spanish conquest a century and a half before, and there was added to the European world a new province whose treasures from then till now have enriched resources of capital.

The Pacific coast

At the same moment that these two widely different areas of Uruguay and Minas Geraes were thus opened to European energies, another series of circumstances extended at once the bounds of their influence and settlement in the New World.

1700-20

Among the Spanish provinces of western and northwestern South America there came, indeed, little change save that effected by the transfer of the slave trade from Portuguese to English hands by the Treaty of Utrecht and the increase of commerce with England and France as a result of the smuggling caused by the war. A slow and steady immigration, chiefly from northern Spain, populated Chili with a sound and hardy peasant stock, while Peru, for the time, scarcely altered its condition or its activities. But in its dependency, Upper Peru or Bolivia, the discovery of gold deposits by adventurers from the Brazilian fields, pushing up the Madeira and the Beni, paralleled the gold fever in Minas Geraes. East of Lake Titicaca, the mushroom town of Sorata soon rivaled Potosi, and, though its placer deposits were soon exhausted, the years of the great war pushed Spanish activity far to the north of La Paz through the headwaters of the Amazon, to exploit still other sources of wealth. With such wide extension of territory and the gradual growth of population came administrative change, for the creation of the vice-

1718

royalty of New Granada, including Bogota and Quito, at once indicated the further separation from Lima of the great northwestern Andean provinces.

The Caribbean lands 1700-20

Yet it was not an age of unrestricted success on every hand. Venezuela, her placer gold deposits exhausted, her trade wrecked by the war, fell back in the race for the time being, even though the slow advance of her llaneros and their herds in the interior laid foundations for greater future prosperity. Central America endured a not dissimilar experience under the virtual embargo which England's control of the sea enforced during the war; nor were the islands in much better case. There, as in the Pacific, the exploits of Dampier and Woodes—like the extraordinary attack on Rio de Janeiro by Guay-Tronin which, in the depopulation incident to the gold rush, only saved that great port from French hands by a huge ransom—revealed another element in the situation, of much moment thereafter. Relieved from the attack of buccaneers, the Spanish posts now felt the pressure of English naval commanders, which in the ensuing century was to play havoc with Spain's old monopoly.

1711

The expansion of Mexico 1700-20

These incidents of the world-wide war, productive of heroic exploits and profitable adventures, recalled the days of Villegagnon and Drake; as the concurrent events in the north reflected the old rivalry of Virginia and New France. Yet it was not in these that real progress lay, nor, save for Uruguay and Minas Geraes, was the chief advance made by the Spanish in South America. At the opposite end of their great empire another movement became the principal feature of importance in this period. This was the expansion of Mexico. While the slow and laborious progress of society went on through the Americas with slight regard to European war, while from Araucania to Lower California the missionary priests pressed forward their line of missions preparing the way for Spanish occupation, the greater activity lay toward the north. There, from the outlying districts of New Spain, the "internal provinces," founded in the preceding century and a half, New Biscay, New Estremadura, and New Santander, a slender stream of missions and pioneers began to push north and east across the fertile plains of the New Philippines or Texas. In that vast region, by the time that Europe was fairly settled after its great conflicts,

scarcely one of the rivers which made their way across its wide prairies into the Gulf lacked an outpost of Spanish influence, from San Antonio on the Rio Grande to San Miguel de Cuellas on the Sabine. And with its occupation during this period, Spain reached her widest bounds east of the Rocky Mountains in North America.

French advance in North America

If she hoped to retain her hold upon that quarter of the world it was high time her colonists bestirred themselves. Already the great project of La Salle, which had contributed to this display of energy by threatening their hold on northern Mexico, had found successors. Even as the Spaniards advanced, they found a formidable antagonist, and their pioneers met everywhere the agents of a rival power. But two days' march from San Miguel, La Salle's compatriots

1717

established, simultaneously with the Spanish settlement, a post at Natchitoches on the Red River, which was at once the symbol and the culmination of an extraordinary burst of expanding energy. For what Spain had been to Central and South America in the sixteenth century, what England had been to the Atlantic coast of North America in the seventeenth, France now became to the Mississippi basin and the Great Lakes; and there, as she had already challenged England in the maritime provinces of the St. Lawrence mouth, she now challenged the Spaniards in the Missouri region.

The Great Lakes 1679-1738

Her earliest efforts following the explorations of the preceding generation had been directed to the west and north. In the first years of the great European war, Canadian officials had despatched agents along the way pointed out by Noyon, and that Sieur Greysolon Du Lhut, whose name the metropolis of Lake Superior perpetuates, toward the watershed of the great northwest. With de la Noue's foundation of a post on the so-called Kaministikia River, there began a fresh advance through a well-watered region to Lake Winnipeg. With this they tapped the heart of that rich fur-bearing region. Still they were not content, and the reports

1720-22

of Babe and Charlevoix, building on this achievement, pointed the way to that long-sought-for goal, the western sea.

Yet despite such a wide extension of her Canadian frontiers, her chief advance lay in that field first mapped out by La Salle. For its accomplishment the French had two great advantages. The first was their highly centralized colonial system. With scarcely more than fifteen thousand colonists, they were cut off from the direct road to the west by their enemies the Iroquois, and opposed by them and by the English simultaneously. Yet they had been able to hold their own against this joint attack, and retaliate against vastly superior forces with vigor and success, and to make the greatest territorial gains of the entire period. This was in large measure due to the second of their advantages, the courage and resource of their adventurous pioneers. Before the European war began these bold spirits had founded a fort at Kaskaskia in the country of the Illinois, and another at Biloxi, where the alertness of d'Iberville anticipated the English in securing the mouth of the Mississippi.

The Mississippi valley

1699-1700

Scarcely were these outposts established when the Canadians hastened to strengthen their lines by other posts. In the last years of the seventeenth century Kaskaskia was reinforced by the neighboring settlement of Cahokia. The first year of the eighteenth century saw the fortification of Detroit. A twelvemonth later the Biloxi settlement was transplanted to the convenient harbor of Mobile, and in later years the northern line was further reinforced by the foundation of Vincennes to secure the line of the Wabash River. Thus, from Quebec and Montreal through Niagara and Frontenac, Detroit, Kaskaskia, and Vincennes, France held the waterways and portages which comprised the only practicable routes through the great wilderness which lay between the St. Lawrence and the Mississippi. Hardly were the treaties signed which set the seal on the provisions of Utrecht, when the establishment of Fort Chartres on the Mississippi just below the mouth of the Missouri, added another link to the lengthening chain by which France held her new empire in leash. Beyond that line, the posts of Mackinac, the missions, and the itinerant traders and priests, at once strengthened her hold on the lake region and brought her in closer touch with

1701

1720

1670

the western tribes in common cause against their mutual enemies the Iroquois, who strove to exercise their suzerainty over the great region north of the Ohio. Such was the far-flung if loosely woven empire which now took form in North America.

The Le Moynes 1698-1720

It was peculiarly fortunate for France that at this juncture the mantle of La Salle and Joliet fell on the shoulders of a family worthy to wear it. To the Le Moynes—five brothers, of whom the two best known are remembered by their titles of Iberville and Bienville—she owed whatever of success she found along the lower Mississippi and the Gulf. Three times the indefatigable Iberville, through whose efforts the English had been foiled in their attempts to obtain a foothold on the Gulf, visited this region to confirm French title by discovery and occupation; while Bienville, created governor of the scattered settlements, extended them to the Red River. Under their direction the Mississippi's course and delta were mapped, and settlers found to occupy the posts. Against the English seamen, who here as elsewhere in the Gulf of Mexico, endeavored to cripple their rivals, they combined French forces with Spanish to protect the infant colony. Against the English traders and the hostile Chickasaws, their friendship with the Choctaws preserved those settlements on the land side; and it seemed not unreasonable to hope that by joining hands with Canada they might, in time, forestall the English and confine them to the region between the Alleghenies and the coast.

Louisiana

Louisiana indeed grew slowly. Ten years after its foundation it numbered scarce four hundred souls; nor was this surprising. It was cut off from free communication with Europe by English naval power; and, remote from Canada, it found its only markets in the Spanish colonies, and garden vegetables its chief product. But in the twelfth year of its existence, a twelvemonth before the Treaty of Utrecht, came a change. On a great French promoter-merchant-capitalist, Sieur Antoine Crozat, Louis XIV conferred monopoly of trade for fifteen years within the region bounded by the Wabash, Carolina, and New Mexico, now constituted as a

1712

colony subject to New France. With this came new activity; Bienville's energy as "commandant of the Mississippi and its tributaries" established a post at Natchez and secured the Red River district against the approaching Spaniards, and to his new venture Crozat contributed men, money, and supplies. But trade proved small, expenses large, the jealousy of a new governor, Cadillac, transferred from Detroit, ripened to open quarrel with Bienville; and Crozat, discouraged, presently gave up his charter. Yet this was not the end. The patent was conferred upon another grantee, the so-called Company of the West, and with this there opened 1717
a new chapter in the history of France and her colonies; a chapter whose events were so romantic and so intertwined with the developments meanwhile in Europe itself, that it forms one of the most significant and illuminating episodes of the entire period.

The age of the adventurers 1713-30

Few circumstances in European history are more astonishing than the results which flowed from the transfer of trading privileges in Louisiana. They were, indeed, symbolic of the times. The conclusion of the great European wars had left the continent in a state of disturbance and unrest unparalleled since the Peace of Westphalia. On every hand sprang up adventurers, high and low, eager to seize some advantage for their country or themselves from the unstable situation of affairs. In Spain the ambitions of Alberoni threatened the peace of the Mediterranean world; in the north the intrigues of Goertz and Gyllenborg involved not merely the Baltic powers but the British Isles, then disturbed by the efforts of the Pretender, James III so-called, to wrest his inheritance from George I. In France the abilities of Dubois endeavored to regain some of the prestige Louis XIV had lost. In Spain the Dutchman Ripperda, embracing diplomacy and Catholicism, succeeded Alberoni as prime minister, and falling from power there, ended his public career as the Mohammedan vizier of the Emperor of Morocco.

These men were typical of a period which placed a Hanoverian on the English throne by a Whig *coup d'état,* replaced the antagonism of England and France with an alli-

ance, and revealed the hostility of Jesuit and Jansenist, of court and Parlement in place of the overpowering supremacy of crown and church under Louis XIV. They were the legitimate successors of the greatest adventurer of them all, Charles XII. Nor were they alone. In finance and colonies the preceding generation had made extraordinary strides. The foundation of the Bank of England and the National Debt was paralleled by the French occupation of Louisiana and the project of founding a colonial empire there. The revulsion from war, the desire for sudden wealth so characteristic of such a period, combined, with the developments in the world of credit, to produce an era of speculation which swept over western Europe like a pestilence.

The South Sea Company 1711-20

Its first manifestation was the ill-fated Scotch Darien Company. The next was the so-called South Sea Company under the patronage of the English minister Harley. To restore public credit by extinguishing the floating debt, this company undertook to assume its burden in return for a grant from the government of six per cent. on the amount, drawn from the customs revenue and reinforced by a monopoly of the South Sea trade. It extended its operations, till it presently proposed to assume the whole burden of the national debt upon like terms. Against the opposition of the Bank of England and leading financiers, and in spite of the fact that only one ship was ever sent to the South Seas, Parliament lent itself to the proposal. With this a speculation craze began. The company's shares rose to ten times their value, fortunes were made in a night. Great frauds were perpetrated, till, when the bubble burst, thousands were ruined, and public confidence all but destroyed before a new minister, Sir Robert Walpole, and his associates, managed to readjust finance on a firm basis.

John Law 1671-1729

At the same moment France experienced a like fate. Thither in the years following Utrecht had come a Scotchman, John Law, who, after some years of banking experience in Holland, set up a private bank in Paris in imitation of the Bank of

1716-18

England. Dazzled by its success, the regent, Orleans, adopted Law's plan for a national bank and soon proceeded to charter

Law's Company of the West. As Law's operations extended, he obtained the monopoly of beaver skins in Canada, and absorbed the East India Company. He was created Duke of Arkansas. The shares of his great corporation were rapidly taken up and an era of inflation began. When, within two years, its privileges were extended to a monopoly of the trade with China, the Indies, and the South Sea, the demand for shares of the Company of the Indies, as it was re-named, rivaled the English frenzy. It was even amalgamated with the national bank, and granted rights of coinage and farming the taxes. But over-issue of paper had produced a false prosperity, and the stoppage of payment by the bank brought about a crisis in French finance coincident and similar to the collapse of credit in England. Company and Bank went down together. Law fled from France; and the nation he had, perhaps unwittingly, deceived was compelled to readjust its finances by slow and unprofitable liquidation of its debts. 1720

Such were the beginnings of European experiments in high finance. Their earliest effect was disastrous. In them the establishment of national credit combined with the lure of huge profits from the colonies to produce a craze for speculation. But when that craze was past and sober second thought at last prevailed, the ultimate result was to alter the whole basis of Europe's financial theory and practice. State banks and national debts, stock issues and operations, the interdependence of home countries and their colonies, became a part of the fabric of that widening society, and political economy one of its most clearly recognized functions.

The results of the period

By such circumstances the twenty years which followed the outbreak of the War of the Spanish Succession were distinguished in the field of politics and the now closely allied realm of finance and colonies. The great circle of European power in the western hemisphere was now all but complete, with the discovery and exploitation of the north and west, the opening of the Ohio and Mississippi, the trans-Mississippi regions, and the Pacific coast. The entry of Russia into the concerns of Europe and farther Asia, and her progress across the straits into America, marked a new

era in her own history and that of the world. No less the emergence of Brandenburg-Prussia from German into European politics presaged the reshaping of policies and powers in both fields. And, though for the time being it was of less consequence, the erection of the duchy of Savoy into the kingdom of Sardinia was prophetic of scarcely less important revolution in the more distant future. The final triumph of the Whigs in England, with the accession of the Hanoverian line and the union of Scotland and England; the introduction, in whatever modified form, of new ideas into the Spanish monarchy, with the transfer of power from Hapsburg to Bourbon hands; and, still more, the connection thus established between France and Spain, were of no less importance to Europe on both sides of the sea. At the same time the relative decline of France and Sweden left the field open for new forces and new powers to assert themselves, and new issues for statesmen to face. Finally, the developments in the colonial and the commercial fields gave to this situation fresh form and direction. It now became apparent that the period which endured the two great wars had brought about not only a shifting of the European system greater than it had experienced in two centuries, but had ushered in an age which differed from its predecessor scarcely less than that period had differed from the era of the Thirty Years' War. For the Age of Louis XIV marked at once the crown and culmination of a development already giving way to far different theories and practices even in the world of politics.

CHAPTER XXX

IMPERIAL EUROPE. 1720-1742

THE contrast between the first two decades of the eighteenth century and the twenty years which followed, forms one of the striking antitheses which from age to age sustain our interest in the evolution of mankind. The opening years of the century had been filled with wars which reached to every corner of the continent and involved the greater part of European possessions oversea. Then the figures of William III and Louis XIV, Charles XII and Peter the Great, Eugene and Marlborough, occupied the center of the stage. Scarcely had they gone when the whole aspect of politics and the whole character of its chief directors were changed. To soldier-statesmen succeeded men of peace, Walpole in England, Fleury in France, the Emperor Charles VI, and Frederick William of Prussia. These, however they differed from each other in private qualities and public policies, were of one mind in seeking to avoid another general European war. In consequence no such universal catastrophe as had just taken place broke the long era of relative peace; and though from time to time one state or another became involved in conflict with its neighbors, but one war of any great importance occurred in the two decades following the Peace of Utrecht.

The age of the pacifists 1720-42

Yet if the period in which their activities fell was an age of peaceful rulers, it was none the less an era of feverish political activity; an activity, however, which found its chief expression not so much in the open fields of war and politics as in the darker realms of intrigue and diplomacy, conspiracy and rebellion. Seldom if ever among the many tortuous and complex epochs in which European interests crossed each other in a tangled maze of conflicting ambitions, have inter-

—and the intriguers

national affairs been so subject to the influence of scheming diplomats and restless adventurers as in the years between 1721 and 1742. This is not to be wondered at. The circumstances under which Hapsburg was replaced by Bourbon in Spain, and Bourbon by Hapsburg in Italy; the reversal of the rôles of Sweden and Russia in the northeast; the dynastic changes which brought a Hanoverian to the English throne and a Saxon to that of Poland; the extinction of the male line of the house of Hapsburg; and the existence of pretenders or rival heirs to half the crowns of Europe, offered a fertile field for the devices and desires of a crowd of ambitious spirits, high and low. On the one hand, in consequence, stood the exponents of settled peace and the establishment; on the other, those who would have gladly seen the dying waves again lashed into storm.

England and France

This was the situation, in particular, of the two greatest western powers. England, now dominated by the Whigs, was absorbed in securing herself against Jacobite designs and the results of the South Sea Bubble, while striving, under Walpole's guidance, to preserve and increase the fruits of her exertions. France, feverish from the hemorrhage of war and the excitement of the Mississippi Scheme, fearful of the ambitions of Orleans and Philip V, consumed with civil quarrels and the open licentiousness which succeeded the decorous vices of the court of the Grand Monarque, found little energy to devote to outside interests. Both joined, therefore, to oppose further disturbances and after long enmity found themselves allied against those who threatened their peace.

Spain

1714-66

What France and England lacked in disturbing elements, Spain meanwhile more than supplied. There the ambition of her successive ministers, Alberoni, Ripperda, and Patiño, with the power behind the throne, the queen, Elizabeth Farnese, the Italian wife of Philip V, strove mightily to revive the glories if not the strength of Spanish power. Through an infinity of negotiation, and alliances, first with Austria, then with France and England, Spain's intrigues had for their object the accession of Elizabeth's son to Parma and

Piacenza with the reversion of Tuscany; and this result the shrewd diplomacy of the queen finally achieved.

The Pragmatic Sanction

These were not the only nor even the most important of the negotiations which filled European chancelleries with business in those years. The introduction of a Spanish dynasty in Italy, which was the most spectacular political event of the decade that followed the great European settlement, was accompanied and largely aided by the simultaneous efforts of the Emperor to obtain Europe's assent to an extraordinary document. This, the so-called Pragmatic Sanction, was intended to secure the throne to his daughter Maria Theresa, in defiance of that so-called Salic Law, which had long dominated dynastic settlements among the western powers of the continent. To this result the situation of England and France, each equally desiring peace, contributed. For this Charles sacrificed Italian principalities to Spain. And, to the accomplishment of his design, the genius of Eugene and the exhaustion of the Turks, with the disturbed condition of Russia after the death of Peter the Great, conduced no less than the peaceful, parsimonious policy of Frederick William, which slowly made Prussia ready to play a greater part in international affairs.

1713

The arts of peace

Yet with all the vast network of intrigue and diplomacy which centered in Charles VI's design and the ambitions of "the termagant of Spain," Elizabeth Farnese; with all the efforts of England and France to hold the balance even, at home and abroad; the ultimate importance of the period lay outside the realm of politics, largely outside of European boundaries, and wholly beyond the merely dynastic problems with which it chiefly concerned itself. Not merely did the arts of peace receive new impetus, commerce and wealth increase, and city population, that sure index of a material prosperity, grow more rapidly than at any previous time; not merely did new schools of thought find opportunity to intrench themselves. New forms of comfort and luxury were developed, as the growth of wealth found opportunity to express itself. Already an agrarian revolution was under way, an industrial revolution was preparing; and, above all, new

worlds beyond the seas were being thrown open to European enterprise, to reinforce the old world with their resources and opportunities.

India

Of these, two in particular were now coming to occupy European attention. The first was India, where an event, midway of the great wars just closed, was to be of supreme

1707

importance to the whole colonial world. This was the death of Aurungzebe, last of the great Mogul emperors. The name doubtless meant little to the men directing European destinies in the days when Russia and Sweden came to death grips; when in the Netherlands and Italy French generals strove to make head against Eugene and Marlborough. To men engaged in conflict for European supremacy a change in Asiatic rulers seemed of small significance. To Europe generally Mahratta and Mogul, Nawab and Peishwa and Nizam, if known at all, were merely curious collocations of vowels and consonants; Aurungzebe as mythical a name as that of Jenghiz Khan. Apart from half a dozen ports and provinces, Goa and Calicut, Madras, Bombay, Calcutta and Bengal, with Pondicherry, Delhi and Agra, and that synonym of wealth, Golconda, the geography of India was scarcely better known to most Europeans than that of central Africa. Yet Aurungzebe's death not merely revolutionized affairs in India; it was of the same nature as those events which had made possible the Spanish conquest of America. It was fraught with something of the same importance to the European world; and the names which seemed no less barbarous than those of Montezuma and Atahualpa two centuries earlier, were soon to be a part of European knowledge.

It is not surprising that, though India was the first Asiatic land to come within the circle of European interests, its vast interior should have remained for more than two centuries all but unknown to Europe in general. Its distance no less than the size and strength of its great native states precluded conquest. The nature of the enterprise which planted factories along its coast and fought for trade, was alien to political expansion; and the adventurous companies, even when they came in contact with the central power, remained its

suppliants or tributaries, existing in no small degree on sufferance. That India, like Europe, was not a state, much less a nation, but an area, occupied by rival peoples, cultures, and faiths was scarcely realized. That, like Italy, it was divided against itself and subject to foreign conquerors, from the day when the migrating Aryans overran the northern plains before the dawn of history, through Alexander's conquests to the comparatively recent invasions of Afghans and Turks; these facts were not as yet a part of European experience.

Its situation 1498

Still less was her internal history understood, though on it hung the situation which was now about to confront the European world. When the Portuguese had first landed at Calicut, the two great powers which shared Indian allegiance, the Mohammedan sultans of Delhi in the north and the Hindu rajahs of Vijanayagar in the south, were each, after three centuries of existence, on the point of breaking into groups of semi-independent states. Thus the petty sovereignties which the Europeans had first encountered, felt little obligation to any central authority. But scarcely had the Portuguese established their trading empire when India saw a new conqueror. Under a descendant of that Timur the Lame whose arms a century earlier had spread his power from the Ganges to the Hellespont, and from the Volga to the Persian Gulf, a fresh horde of so-called Moguls, half Tartar and half Turk, had swept from the Jaxartes through Samarcand and Afghanistan into the Punjab. There, at the moment that Luther defied the Papacy and Cortez conquered Mexico, the Mogul leader, Babar, had crushed the Sultan of Delhi at 1526
Panipat. Repulsed by Afghan rulers of Bengal, the Moguls had returned under Babar's grandson, and conquered the Afghans on the same field where thirty years before the 1556
Delhi sultan had been overthrown. In the ensuing half century all India north of the Deccan had come under the rule of the contemporary of Elizabeth and Philip II, Akbar, surnamed the Great.

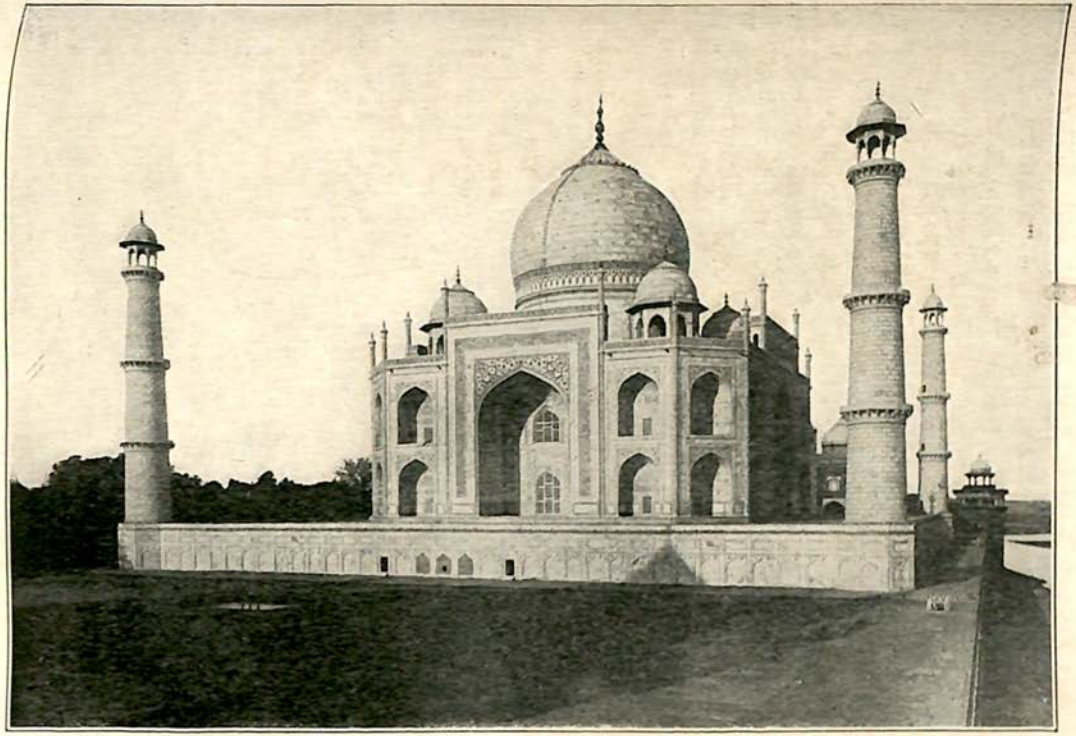
When the Dutch and English arrived in India, therefore, they found the peninsula divided between the Mogul empire,

the small Hindu states of the Deccan, and the still smaller
1584 principalities along the coast. The first English agent, Fitch, had visited Akbar's court at Agra. His successor, Roe, found
1615-18 Akbar's son, Jehangir, on the throne; and the authority of these rulers was invoked for trading rights against the privileges of the Portuguese which had been derived from the lesser princes of the coast. Meanwhile, the Mogul power
1658 made its way, and when, in the year Cromwell died, Jehangir's heir, Shah Jehan, was deposed by his son, Aurungzebe, it approached its culmination. For, by that able if bigoted ruler's conquests at the close of the seventeenth century, the whole peninsula, save for Mysore and some small border states, owned the Delhi sovereignty. Before such power Europe was impotent. The "Great Mogar," with his "thousand elephants and thirty thousand horses," his "myriads of troops and strong places," offered no opportunity for conquest to trading companies little concerned with land, much less with political supremacy.

The death of Aurungzebe 1707-40

But Aurungzebe died, and the effect on India was not unlike that of Charlemagne's death upon Europe nine hundred years before. Against the ambitions of peoples within his far-flung boundaries, eager for independence; against Hindus resenting Mohammedan supremacy as much as Lombard, Arian, or Saxon pagans resented Frankish and Athanasian dominance; against rulers like the Mahratta chief, Sivaji, "whose death was worth more than a great victory," Aurungzebe had long contended. With his removal the Empire began to disintegrate. Like the lieutenants of Alexander, the Mogul viceroys aspired to separate sovereignties, and local rulers and adventurers raised their heads. Nizam and Nawab were transformed from viceroys to all but independent princes. Rajah and Sultan and Peishwa, as these subordinates were called, resumed their place in Indian polity. In Hyderabad the Turcoman Nizam ul Mulk, in Oudh a Persian adventurer, in Mysore the local family, became supreme; and Bengal's Nawab, almost alone, remained true to the puppet emperor.

Among these one power became predominant. Along the

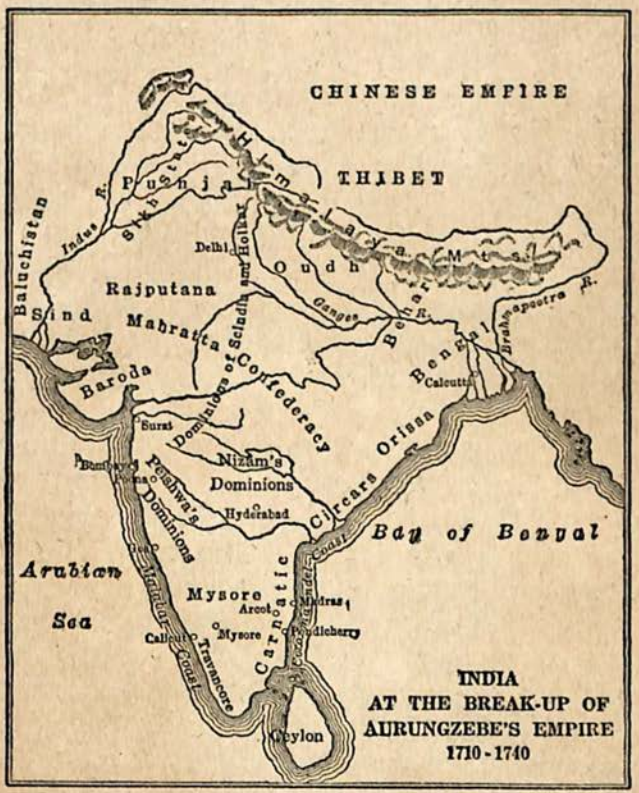


TAJ MAHAL AT AGRA.

Built by Shah Jehan as a mausoleum for his favorite wife. It is sometimes said to be the most beautiful building in the world, and is a perfect type of oriental architecture.

western Ghâts, through the hill country, five hundred miles from north to south in central India, where the Maharashtra, or "great kingdom" of a Hindu race, the so-called Mahrattas, had once been, the rebellion of Sivaji in the late seventeenth century had begun a Hindu revival which presaged the fall

The Mahrattas



of the Moguls. Upon Sivaji's death, the Brahman ministers of his incompetent successors had become mayors of the palace under the title of Peishwa, and from their separate sovereignty at Poona claimed the allegiance of all Mahratta tribes. These meanwhile spread from their hill fastnesses till by the middle of the eighteenth century their wild riders' boast that they had "watered their horses in every stream from the Kaveri to the Indus" showed at once their strength and the disorganized weakness of central India. One of

1680-

their leaders carved a kingdom from Nagpur, Orissa, and Behar, and invaded Bengal. Another became the Gaekwar or prince of Baroda on the west. Another took Malwa and centered his authority in Scinde; while princes of Sivaji's own house seized Sindhia and Tanjore, fell upon Hindustan, and made themselves masters of the Emperor's person. In such
1740 fashion Mahratta rule replaced the Mogul empire throughout central India.

England and France in India

All the advantage hitherto in the struggle for Indian preponderance had been with the English, whose spirit, organization, and resources had outstripped the French in the commercial field. But, in the altered situation of affairs, it was by no means sure that the French genius for diplomacy and war, their gift for dealing with non-Europeans, would not more than compensate for their defects in trade; for it was evident that new methods must be devised to meet the crisis in Indian affairs. France had failed thus far to found her colonial power on the two firm bases of trade and emigration. But those qualities which she had clearly revealed in other fields, the daring of picturesque adventurers, the skill in treating with savage chiefs, the personal ascendancy of individuals—if ever there was a field opened for these, it certainly was India during the eighteenth century.

Such was the situation of Indian affairs as the great European wars came to a close. It was an opportunity for intervention and conquest such as the world had scarcely seen since Aztec and Inca fell before the Spanish arms. Yet, for the moment, no European power moved. Nor was this to be wondered at, since, even had the intricacies of Indian politics been better understood, the years which saw the great peninsula convulsed with the fierce rivalries of its ambitious leaders found Europe busy readjusting her affairs in the light of the late wars and the no less disturbing political and economic situation which ensued. Holland was now an Eng-
1703 lish satellite; and Portugal, since the great Methuen treaty which bound her closer to her old ally by strong commercial ties, was scarcely more. Neither England nor France was inclined to enter on new wars for the time being; to each it

seemed sufficient to preserve amid the general anarchy what they had managed to secure. In Madras, as in Calcutta and Bombay, men like old Thomas Pitt, uncle of the great Chatham, maintained the English power. In Pondicherry and Chandernagore, men like the young Dupleix were learning the lessons of Indian politics, and waiting their opportunity to extend French influence. In both, the more cautious commercial elements held back from meddling with affairs which might well cost them all that they had won.

Indian trade

For, however ignorant Europeans were of Indian politics, the value of Indian trade was well understood; and apart from the old English and Dutch East India companies, new efforts were being made to take advantage of that source of wealth. Law's energy had created from the moribund East and West India companies, with those of China and Senegal, a new and more vigorous French Company of the Indies. Among the enterprises to which the Emperor Charles VI had lent his countenance was an Ostend Company financed by Flemish capital from his new subjects in the Netherlands and manned by old employees of the English and Dutch establishments. And when those maritime powers made its suppression part of their price for giving their assent to the Pragmatic Sanction, its officers took service in a new Swedish company for Indian trade. Meanwhile, the so-called interlopers, or independent traders swelled the rivalry for this rich and increasing commerce; till it grew only too evident that trade must presently give way to war and politics, if Europeans were to keep their hold upon the ports which made that commerce possible.

1731

The Americas

Yet if this growing interest in India revealed one aspect of Europe's attitude toward new sources of wealth and power, concurrent developments throughout the western hemisphere were scarcely less significant of other phases of European energy. There, too, the war's conclusion brought its great problems; for there, to complicate the older rivalry of England, France, and Spain, appeared a new aspirant for North America as Russian traders and adventurers made their way southward from the frozen north. Not merely were the two

Americas the scene of far-reaching explorations, and of a huge increase of trade and population; they soon became political centers of the first magnitude. Their expanding peoples, coming to blows over conflicting territorial and commercial claims, drew Europe in their train; and presently began a series of intercolonial wars which inevitably widened to international conflict.

The English

Among these rival colonists the English, hemmed in on every side, revealed the most varied activity; and scarcely were the great wars at an end when they turned to the problems which confronted them. The first was the imperative necessity of securing their frontiers. The second the no less pressing problem of asserting their rights. It was but natural that each should find early expression in the newer and outlying colonies. Of these the Carolinas were the most conspicuous; and there, in consequence, the conflict began.

Carolina 1719-29

That province had been founded half a century earlier under a company whose proprietors still claimed their older, arbitrary rights, and it had filled up with a peculiarly independent element, opposing with increasing bitterness the exactions and pretensions of their rulers. The close of the war brought opposition to a head. They formed an association, refused to obey the governor, elected a new executive, and defied the proprietary force. In the face of such spirit and concurrent danger from the Spanish, whose armed expedition had only been destroyed by the New Providence authorities and a convenient storm, the English Council was not disposed to risk rebellion by supporting the proprietors. The old charter was, in consequence, withdrawn; a provisional royal government was set up; and a governor appointed by the crown. This action was confirmed by Parliament, the proprietors yielded their political rights and for the most part disposed of their holdings. The temporary arrangement became permanent. The province was divided into North and South Carolina, and the two royal colonies took their place among their fellows under the new form of government. In such fashion began another era of colonial activity.

With this and with the settlement of the boundaries between Virginia and North Carolina, and between Connecticut and New York, there came a fresh enterprise. For scarcely had the new colonies been formed when English power spread beyond their boundaries. On the west and south their borders were open to occupation and attack by Spanish and French. Their sparsely settled or uninhabited stretches of forest and plain could scarcely be administered from the older settlements; and here in consequence a new burst of energy found field for its endeavors. James Oglethorpe, sometime member of Parliament, had drawn from his investigation of the prisons in which men were confined for debt a lively sense of their horrors and of pauperism generally. From this he sought remedy in colonizing schemes. To him and his twenty associate trustees, aided by parliamentary grant and private subscription, were chartered the lands between the Savannah and the Altamaha rivers, with ultimate reversion to the crown. Four years after the Carolinas were finally established, Oglethorpe came out with his settlers to found his first post at Savannah. The colony, named in honor of the first Hanoverian king, Georgia, was a unique experiment. For military no less than for humanitarian reasons no negro slavery was permitted. Freedom of conscience and worship was assured to all but Roman Catholics; rum was forbidden; the Indians were made friends. As spiritual advisers, the Wesleys, now busy founding the new English sect of Methodists, were secured; and Charles Wesley came out as Oglethorpe's secretary, succeeded in time by the evangelist Whitefield. Scotch Presbyterians and German Moravians swelled the population of the little colony, whose vigor and strong military character made it at once a most effective barrier against the Spaniards of St. Augustine, with whom it came almost at once to blows. When, six years after the foundation of this last of the thirteen original English colonies in North America, war was begun with Spain, it was by the resistance of Oglethorpe and his few followers that the attack from St. Augustine was repelled. In this, no less than the humanitarian principles of the new colony, it justified itself;

Georgia

1733

1739

and as its population spread through the broad and fertile coast plains along the slow-flowing rivers to the uplands beyond, it formed at last an impregnable barrier against all dangers from the south.

The English and the Indians 1713-30

Its history was characteristic of the period. Throughout the long and straggling frontier of the English settlements danger was imminent. Against the French who stirred the Indians to resist the oncoming wave of English occupation, the governor of New York built a post at Oswego on Lake Ontario and prohibited trade between the natives and the French. Against the Abenakis, angered by the progress of the New England pioneers and fired to resistance by French Jesuits, war was declared and they were pushed back further

1725 in the wilderness. Against the Yamassees in Florida, the Carolinians, defying the Spaniards, sent a punitive expedition. And with the Iroquois, whose Five Nations were now increased to six by the admission of the Tuscaroras seeking refuge from their southern enemies, the governor of New York entered into engagements of friendship at the same

1726 moment that Massachusetts made final peace with the eastern Indians. Thus, by the re-establishment of peace, and the extension of English protection to all of the Iroquois, the Indian question seemed for the moment at an end, at the same time that the foundation of outlying forts and colonies gave further security to the older settlements. And these, taking advantage of this situation, turned to the problem of maintaining their rights against the mother country and the development of their own resources.

The English colonies and the home government

For it was not the nature of an English colony to acquiesce without protest in the extension of a home authority which, during nearly half a century, had sought a wider exercise of its powers; and the conflict, long brewing, had now reached a critical stage. Its origin was simple enough. The New York governor, Burnet, who was transferred to the Massachusetts post, had not been able to suppress a quarrel that had broken out between his predecessor and the colonists; which revealed, in its progress, a fundamental issue in the colonial world. This had arisen over the most fruitful sub-

ject of contention, a fixed salary for the governor. It had already involved the crown authority. And not even the "explanatory charter" which, new to colonial experience, conferred on the executive the right to suppress debate and to limit the term of adjournment of the general court,—by which latter device the astute colonists sought to circumvent the governor,—had quieted resistance. The question hung undetermined, and the flame was fanned by the arrest and trial of a New York printer for a libel on the governor. Thus amid unparalleled prosperity which in these twenty years doubled the population of the colonies and more than doubled their wealth, amid a wide extension of their boundaries, and the repulse or subjection of their enemies, there remained the grounds of an insoluble dispute. Was the authority of the crown and Parliament to be increased and confirmed by the establishment of a royal executive, independent of colonial control; or were the colonies to determine for themselves their obligations and relations to the home authority? Such was the question which, in varying forms, had taken its place among the problems of English colonial government. Despite its local character, it was to become in no long time a vital issue of world-politics.

1728-9

1734

Matters such as these troubled the chief rivals of England little or not at all. While Englishmen found their energies divided among the formation of new colonies, farming and planting, the slow winning of the wilderness, resistance to their hostile neighbors, and, the assertion of their rights against the mother country, France, acting on wholly different impulses, made a spectacular advance. Hardly was the ink dry on the treaties of Utrecht when her rulers prepared to secure their hold on North America. After the genius of their race and age, their first thought was of war. On a promontory jutting out between Gavarus Bay and a still smaller harbor near the southeastern point of Cape Breton Island was begun the fortress of Louisburg, the "Dunkirk of America," as Quebec was the Gibraltar. To its construction and defense were detailed French engineers and troops, the French inhabitants of Nova Scotia were drawn from

New France

Louisburg 1720

their homes to populate the new town. Vast sums were spent, and gradually the English saw with dismay the frowning walls of one of the most powerful fortresses in the colonial world threaten their position on the north Atlantic coast. Against it the feeble post of Annapolis was all but helpless and not until the foundation of Halifax in the next generation did it endure a rival.

The French Empire

The building of Louisburg marks the beginning of a new Anglo-French struggle for the St. Lawrence mouth, northern New England, and the West, which was to absorb the next generation. From this outpost of French influence, the long line of fortifications continued with Quebec and Montreal. These guarded the middle St. Lawrence, and became the headquarters for a propaganda carried on by officers and Jesuits, which kept New England frontier settlements in constant apprehension of savage attack and against which they, in turn, aroused their own allies. Beyond Montreal, Fort Frontenac had for forty years stood at the outlet of Lake Ontario into the St. Lawrence, and Fort Niagara held the passage from Lake

1749

Erie to Ontario. In due course of time Fort Rouille, now Toronto, was set to connect this line of forts with another group which was to stretch southward to the Ohio and west to the Wabash and Illinois; while beyond these still lay others which controlled the Great Lakes and the Mississippi. Thus, from the mouth of the St. Lawrence to the Mississippi delta, there ran a network of stations, guarding the great highways of that vast wilderness, the rivers and lakes, holding the portages between the waterways, and, for all purposes of trade or war, giving to France the mastery of the whole region through her hold on these strategic points.

The French and the trans-Mississippi region 1720-42

This was the first project of the rulers of New France. Their next was still more daring; for, starting from this line, they pressed boldly forward to seize the more remote interior. As Frontenac and La Salle had directed the occupation of the great Middle West, and Radisson had led the way to Hudson's Bay; so now a new group of adventurers introduced French influence into the trans-Mississippi region. The occupation of the mouth of the great river furnished at

once a basis of operations and an inspiration for further exploration, designed to find gold mines and open trade with the Indians, or the Spaniards of New Mexico. To these men, and still more to those who were then tempting the dangers of the northern wilderness, was added that hope of finding ways overland to the Pacific which had succeeded the long-cherished delusion of a water-route thither. Already Le Sueur had found his way to a new tribe of Indians who dominated the southwestern plains, and the names of Sioux and Dakotah 1699-1700
took their place in French vocabulary beside Iroquois and Illinois. Already the French had made war and peace with the Wisconsin tribe of Antagomies, and their neighbors, the Winnebagoes and the Sacs. Already transient posts had been set up and trade begun in beaver skins, as well as buffalo. Already scattered individuals and groups began to make their way west from the Mississippi and up the Missouri to the vast plains beyond. Traders venturing too far had been seized by the Spaniards and carried to Mexico. In brief, the opening of the Far West was begun.

Now it was taken up by other hands. From Natchitoches, 1719-21
La Harpe and his men pushed up the Red River and crossed to the Arkansas. Du Tisne found his way through the country of the Missouri to the Osages and Pawnees beyond; and Bourgmont was despatched to build a fort on the Kansas 1724
against the Spaniards, who, with Comanche allies, had attacked the French. To him succeeded the Mallets, who, by way of the Kansas, all but reached the Rocky Mountains, 1739-40
and so opened the central plains to trading enterprise. Finally the mission of Charlevoix, despatched by the French agent to secure news of a way to the Pacific, had led to a post on Lake Pepin; and from that beginning came the next great exploit of the French advance. One Pierre de Varennes, surnamed La Vérendrye,—Canadian-born, sometime lieu- Vérendrye
tenant in the armies of France, and nearly killed at Malpla- 1731
quet,—returned from his adventures on the continent filled with the project of cutting across the rich fur trade which the English of Hudson Bay enjoyed and turning its current toward Montreal. Through Lake Superior and so to Lake

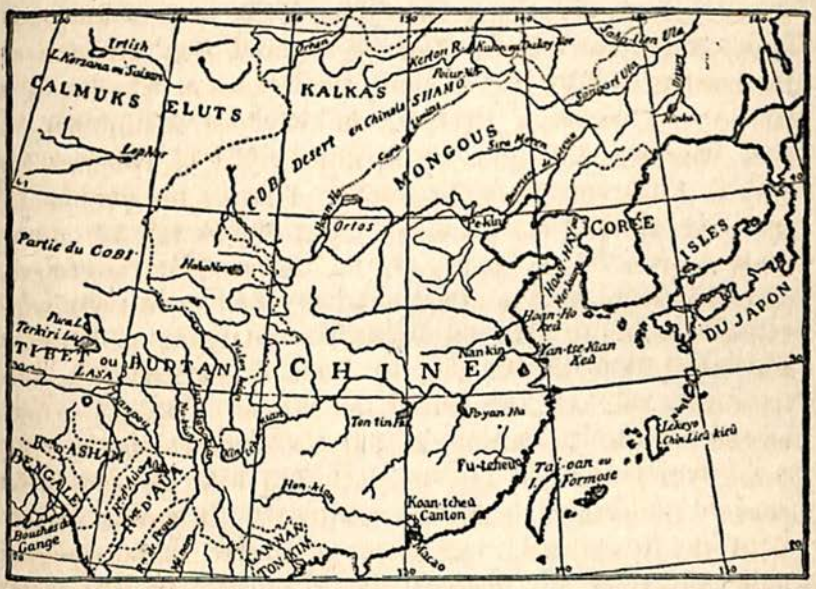
Winnipeg and the Kaministikia "great portage," his first trip led to failure. Once and again he tried, till he had explored a great part of the vast northwest, diverted no small part of the English trade to French hands, and established posts from Rainy Lake to Winnipeg. This achievement he finally crowned with a greater exploit. From the Assiniboin he made his way to the upper Missouri and the Yellowstone, where, guided by successive tribes, then new to European eyes,—Mandans, Crows, Horse, Fox, and Bow Indians,—to the borders of their old enemies, the Snakes or Shoshones, he beheld the northern Rockies, the Bighorn Mountains. In such wise was the trans-Mississippi region of America laid bare to Europeans, and the bounds of Louisiana extended to the headwaters of the Missouri. And though the Vérendryes were oppressed and robbed by the government they served, and died in poverty and neglect, they had done their work. It had begun in the years that the intrigues of Elizabeth Farnese had made her son the Duke of Parma; it reached its climax as that son secured the throne of Naples, whence he ascended to the throne of Spain. To contemporary European eyes that royal pilgrimage would have seemed incomparably the greater of the two events. Yet it may be doubted whether, in the long resolution of affairs, it can compare with the exploits of those all but unknown adventurers who blazed the trail of European progress in the western hemisphere and added an empire to the crown of France.

1738-42

France and Spain in America

For even in the remotest fastnesses of America the influence of European royalty was felt. Wherever French adventurers penetrated west of the Mississippi they met the power of that people on whom France had bestowed a king; and if the diplomacy of the Italian queen of Spain had been a powerful factor in her native land, that of her French husband, Philip V, had been no less important in America. Everywhere the French had gone they had come in touch with Spain. The tales told them by northern tribes of bearded men who worshipped in strange houses and of books whose leaves rustled like husks of corn; the stories of stone buildings beside the great water and the far sterner evidence of the

attack and capture of stray traders by white men, revealed how, in that distant quarter of the world, the powers so lately allied found their new interests far from identical. For, toward the north, Spain's outposts were being slowly pushed forward on the lines laid down by her adventurers two centuries before. From New Galicia her traders and priests



Sketch map of northeastern Siberia and China, re-drawn from d'Anville's *Atlas* (cf. p. 353). This includes much of the information derived from the Russian advance, and is noteworthy for the general accuracy of the Chinese Empire and adjoining regions.

now occupied the lands far to the north and west of the old provincial capital of Santa Fé. Thence they had already begun that occupation of the Californian coast which was to give it wholly into their hands. Here, as elsewhere in Spanish America, was felt something of that revivifying influence which the French prince had brought to his kingdom to reinforce colonial enterprise.

Russia in America 1725-41

Spanish and French soon found rivals in their contention for the farther west; for southward to meet them, meanwhile, came the Russian advance. It had been long prepared. The

beginnings of this new burst of exploration lay in the reign of Peter the Great, and scarcely had he died when the plans he had approved began to be carried into effect. Under the impulse of the government, of the St. Petersburg Academy, and of individual enterprise, the Siberian wilds were surveyed and mapped, the coast line about the northeastern extremity of the continent explored and charted. Much of this work was under the direction of the most famous of Russian explorers, whose name the strait between Asia and America perpetuates, Vitus Bering. The work was not limited to the mainland. One voyage carried the Russians to Yezo, the northernmost of the Japanese archipelago, and revealed to European eyes the curious tribe of so-called hairy Ainus, to the perplexity of ethnologists then and since. Finally, with the discovery of the Kurile Islands, and of Mount St. Elias on the American side, Alaska was brought to Russian knowledge and influence. With this, trappers and traders pushed forward on the track of the explorers, and, at the moment that the French made their way across the plains between the Mississippi and the Rockies, Russia confirmed her hold on the northwestern shores of the American continent and began to advance southward along the coast.

The Hudson's Bay Company

But the reviving energy of colonial enterprise was not confined to those adventurous spirits which from four quarters advanced to the possession of the North American interior. Far to the north the factors of the Hudson's Bay Company extended their trading operations deep into the heart of the great northwest. And far to the south, meanwhile, their fellows and their rivals, the smugglers, invaded the long-guarded preserves of Central and South America. Nothing, indeed, better exemplified the altering status of the colonial world and its problems than the activities which found their chief expression during this period in Spanish America.

Spanish America 1720-42

To this, three circumstances simultaneously contributed. The first was the disorganization of Spanish administration due to the war. The second was the more efficient policy of the new Spanish Bourbon house of Philip V. The

third was the increased attention paid by other powers to this great field, as typified by the transfer of the Asiento to English hands and the temporary permission obtained for French ships to trade with Spanish colonies. The results of these new stimuli upon the colonies were soon manifest. The revenues from the mines which had slowly declined during the seventeenth century, were improved by the revival of prospecting and the discovery of new deposits. The relaxation of the old Cadiz monopoly not merely increased customs receipts from a nominal sum to a substantial figure for the time being, but even after the restoration of the old conditions, which had been demoralized by the war, left its result in a greater commerce, legitimate as well as illegitimate. The more enlightened policy of the Bourbon government relieved some of the worst abuses of colonial administration. The income from the colonies gradually increased. And improved conditions and new opportunities, as in the English colonies of North America, brought a fresh wave of immigrants to the south seeking in the New World relief from the conditions of the old, and a more open field for their abilities and energy.

Spanish expansion in South America

Into the fertile valleys of southern Chili, as into the far-reaching plains of Texas, into the mining districts of Peru, the plains and plantations of the Orinoco and the Plata, poured this fresh stream of colonial blood. The effect was immediate and permanent. Little by little the warlike Araucanians were pushed back and Spanish occupation spread southward through Chili, founding outposts and cities as it went. The Portuguese effort to control the peninsula which commands the northern shore of the Plata was foiled, and the town of Montevideo was founded and fortified, as the strategic key to Uruguay, and the outlet for trade of a growing Spanish population along the Parana and Uruguay. Farther north, the Jesuit theocracy of Paraguay, which had its chief connection with the outside world through Buenos Ayres, was transferred to the protection of that government from the overlordship of Asunción. At the same time the Charruas, who had long held the Europeans back in the

1717-26-1770

lands between the Uruguay and Parana, the so-called province of Entre Rios, were finally crushed by the Creoles and another rich field opened to Spanish settlement.

Reorganization

With this came, naturally, administrative change. Among the many results of Bourbon accession to the Spanish throne, an altered colonial policy was not the least. It had become apparent that Spanish South America could no longer be administered properly from Lima. It was no less apparent that new regulations were necessary to meet the situation created by the war. In consequence, as soon as Philip V was

1717-19

secure on his throne, the temporary erection of New Granada into a viceroyalty, comprehending the provinces of the northern coast, marked the beginnings of a reorganizing policy, which was made permanent two decades later. With the elevation of Bogotá from the rank of audiencia to

1740

that of viceroyalty over the mountain districts of the northwest, that policy was confirmed as the first step in a far-reaching change which lasted through the century. In like measure more intelligent control of administration and revenue accompanied increase of population and resource. Municipalities grew in number while retaining their older comparative independence in local affairs. The growth of trade and common interests which established agents in Spain for the colonies revealed a like tendency; so that Spanish America, like the English settlements, and on not dissimilar lines, emerged from the great war into new paths of progress. It was not well nor wisely administered, perhaps, even allowing for the all but insuperable difficulties of the case, racial, geographical, economic, and historical; but in comparison with what had gone before, its situation was incomparably improved.

Brazil 1706-50

The same could scarcely be said for Portuguese America. The accession of John V during the great European war had brought to the throne a monarch who was intent on marriage alliance with the Spanish house, and who found in the erection of Lisbon to a patriarchate, and the title of the "most faithful" king, ample reward for a devotion to the Papacy which impoverished his own country and despatched on a last

crusade against the Turks the fleet with which his Brazilian subjects might have been able to maintain themselves. For these, meanwhile, were hard pressed by their rivals on the west. What the Anglo-French rivalry for northern New England and the West was to North America, the struggle between Spanish and Portuguese colonists for Montevideo and the Uruguayan region was to the southern continent. There, amid the internal disturbances which outlived the war, the Brazilians strove, with less and less success, to maintain themselves against Spanish advance, till the final outbreak of open conflict brought to an end a long period of raid and counter-raid, and finally determined the balance of power in that quarter of the world.

The War of the Polish Succession

These circumstances in the West preceded and accompanied the outbreak of new wars, which, beginning almost simultaneously in Europe and America, were to involve the whole European world in desperate and far-reaching conflict for supremacy. They were the culmination of a twofold rivalry, half European, half colonial, in their origin. First was the long-standing antagonism of Hapsburg and Bourbon which set the spark to the inflammable material, whose center was the Polish throne. The death of Augustus II of Saxony and Poland, just twenty years after the Peace of Utrecht, 1733
brought forward two candidates for that uneasy crown. A majority of the Polish nobles, influenced by France, chose Stanislaus Lesczynski, the father-in-law of Louis XV. A minority, dominated by Russia and Austria, chose Augustus III. With that, the continent again flew to arms. In Italy, the allies—France, Spain, and Sardinia—drove out Austria from all but Milan; along the Rhine they wrested Lorraine from the Empire. In Poland, the Russo-Austrian alliance remained supreme. Five years of war and diplomacy, which found expression in the Peace of Vienna, confirmed Augustus in possession of the Polish crown. Stanislaus was compensated by Lorraine and Bar, with their reversion to France upon his death. The Duke of Lorraine, now the husband of the Hapsburg heiress, Maria Theresa, was indemnified by Tuscany, whose Medicean rulers now opportunely became ex-

The Peace of Vienna 1738

tinct. Spain received from Austria, Naples and Sicily, with Elba, while Austria regained Parma and Piacenza, consolidating her power in the north, and securing fresh guarantees of the Pragmatic Sanction.

Political readjustment in Europe —Russia

These were the most obvious political results of the War of the Polish Succession; but it was now clear that behind them lay a readjustment of European powers. France and Spain, under their Bourbon kings, obviously tended toward a community of interests and policy; and the Austro-Russian entente, which expressed itself in a joint attack on Turkey as soon as the Polish war was done, was even more significant of a new era in European affairs. For the first time in history Russian troops appeared in western Germany. And this, no less than the fact that the long-coveted port of Azof rewarded her enterprise against Turkey and so gave her a foothold on the Black Sea, revealed the fact that another state was thenceforth to be reckoned with in European polity.

—The east European states

That circumstance was further emphasized by the decline of all her neighbors save one. Sweden had fallen from her high estate with the death of the last great Vasa, Charles XII. Poland, as the war had clearly shown, was now the pawn of her rivals and on the way to be their victim. Prussia alone, among the northern powers, showed signs of increasing vitality. On the south, Turkey now lost her old monopoly of the Black Sea; and in so far exhibited strong symptoms of decline, despite successes against Austria. And the house of Hapsburg, compelled to relinquish Belgrade with parts of Wallachia and Serbia to its ancient enemy, as result of

1736

the ill-omened Turkish war, found, at the same moment, that though Charles VI had secured Europe's assent to the Pragmatic Sanction, it had lost by the death of Eugene the best security for the success of that agreement, and of its position in general. Though Austrian Hapsburg divided Italy, save for Sardinia, with Spanish Bourbon, and so seemed more secure in that quarter, a braver spirit than the old Emperor might have looked forward with well-founded anxiety to the accession of his young daughter to the headship of such wide and disunited realms.

That contingency was not long delayed. Scarcely was peace signed with the Turks when, in the same twelvemonth, the Prussian king, the Czarina, and the Emperor himself were removed from their earthly activities. Two years later Walpole, after the longest lease of power ever vouchsafed to an English prime-minister, was driven from his place. Fleury soon followed; and the next act of the European drama fell to the hands of very different characters from those who, for twenty years, had striven with more or less success, for peace. In Prussia the young prince Frederick II inherited the treasure and the army collected by his father, with whatever ambitious dreams the Hohenzollerns entertained. Russia for the moment fell into the nerveless hand of Ivan VI, then, by a military revolution, into those of Peter the Great's daughter, Elizabeth, the third of those extraordinary women rulers of that empire during the eighteenth century. In Austria the girl Maria Theresa succeeded to the dangers and perplexities which characterized the Hapsburg rule. In France frail mistresses and feeble ministers inherited the influence which Fleury had enjoyed over the weak Louis XV; and in England the young Whigs, who had begun their attack upon Walpole on the issue of war with Spain, replaced his policy of *Quieta non movere* with the more ambitious projects of Carteret and Pitt.

The new rulers 1740

1742

1740

1740-1

1740

In some form, indeed, the character of the incoming period had already begun to define itself in far distant fields. Before the Peace of Vienna had been signed, colonial hostilities in North and South America had continued along the whole Atlantic coast the rivalries of the continent. These were primarily due to the activities of the colonists themselves. Now that their adventurous spirits had made their way through the wide wildernesses which had long separated their outposts and so remained the best guarantee of peace, it was apparent that the aggressive elements of either side could be restrained from conflict hardly or not at all, when they met on the remote frontiers of empire. No less active in promoting hostilities were the smugglers. The greatly relaxed control of trade during the War of the Spanish Suc-

Europe and America

cession had brought in its train not merely a huge increase of trade with maritime powers, particularly England and Holland, but a feeling that such commerce was a right. That feeling was confirmed by the transfer of the Asiento, or slave trade, to English hands; and it was acted on by a host of free-traders, or smugglers, long after the war ceased. The old traditions of the buccaneers, moreover, had been carried on by pirates who, like the famous Captain Kidd and Blackbeard of an earlier generation, though they harassed all commerce impartially, had a peculiar weakness for Spanish ships.

The War of Jenkins' Ear 1739-48

It was inevitable that when, on the accession of Philip V, Spanish administration was rescued from the chaos into which it had fallen, reorganized and administered with more energy, the coast-guards and free-traders should come to blows. As France and Spain developed a greater community of interests, the simultaneous fortification of Louisburg and Montevideo, the efforts of Quebec and St. Augustine to check English advance, and the activities of the Spanish against Brazil, strengthened at once the older ties between England and Portugal in opposition to their common enemy. This roused the English, in particular, to war. When, a year after the Peace of Vienna was finally signed, an English captain, Jenkins, prompted by Walpole's enemies, appeared before the House of Commons to exhibit the mutilations which Spanish coast guards had inflicted on him, England

1739

was roused to wrath, and the "War of Jenkins' Ear" brought the long period of colonial rivalry upon the European stage. Thus at the moment that Spain's arms and diplomacy had given her rulers a fresh hold on Italy, she found herself at war in America.

What with the Spanish besieging the Brazilian outpost of Colonia and Portuguese attack on Montevideo—the Louisburg of South America; the English of Carolina fighting the Spaniards of St. Augustine; projected attacks upon the southern colonies by Caribbean governors; Oglethorpe's new colony of Georgia and Brazil's fortress of Rio Grande do Sul against the Argentine, that conflict had been long under

way. Upon England's entry into war it took another turn. Vernon had boasted in Parliament that he could capture 1739
Porto Bello with six ships; and, given a squadron, he made good his boast. But his initial success was not continued. Anson, indeed, despatched to the Pacific, made his way to Manila and took the Acapulco galleon with a cargo valued 1740
at half a million pounds. But he lost all his ships save one; and a greater attack on Cartagena failed through disease and dissension among its leaders. For their part the Spaniards were even less successful; and the military efforts of each side were still more futile than their naval operations. Ogle- 1740-42
thorpe besieged St. Augustine and the Spanish governor of Florida launched an attack on Georgia, with equal ineffectiveness. Joint British and colonial attack upon Cuba broke down; and the war ended, as it had begun, in petty reprisals and border skirmishes.

Long peace had weakened the offensive strength of either Its results
side. The distances were great; the prizes small; and, save for two circumstances, one of merely curious interest, the war would have been of less consequence than the concurrent struggle of Brazil and Argentine for the land debatable between them. The Spaniards, convinced by Anson's great exploit of the dangers of the galleon system of voyages, abandoned it during the war, and finally replaced it with permits for individual ships. Vernon, finding the long-established custom of serving out neat rum to the sailors inimical to discipline and efficiency, replaced it with a more diluted drink, and thus added "grog" to the English sea-service and vocabulary; an initial step, as it was to prove, of far-reaching reform in naval service.

Wholly different as these circumstances were, the latter in particular evidenced a certain tendency toward the regulation and betterment of human relationships. This was especially noticeable in England. There the foundation of the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge in the 1698
last years of the seventeenth century had been followed by the establishment of the Society for the Propagation of the 1706
Gospel, whose work was now becoming evident in North

America. There too was being felt the influence of men who, like the greatest of Anglo-American administrators, William Johnson, began that remarkable tradition of English relations with non-European subjects, which was to become a leading characteristic of the spread of the British Empire. And, however incongruous it may seem, however unrelated apparently to these other movements of its time, it is perhaps not unworthy of observation that in this period were first formulated the rules of the English national sport of boxing or "prize-fighting." Their adoption, like these other phenomena, exhibited the same tendency toward the amelioration of ruder customs; and the introduction of reason and laws even in that field which seemed on the surface remote from both.

Altered position of the colonies

Even so trifling a circumstance as this serves to illuminate the changing standards of a period; since, like Oglethorpe's restrictions in his colony, it typified an altering concept of social order and efficiency. The abandonment of the galleon trade revealed a similar spirit; for that revolutionary policy marked the decline of an older commercial system in its last stronghold. And, wider still, the war was typical of changes now evident in world-polity. Long dragged in the train of the European powers, the colonies had been drawn into alien rivalries despite their inclination or their interests. Now they had come to play a recognizable part, not merely in causing but in initiating such conflicts. The era of inter-colonial war had now begun on a scale which made it a powerful factor in international affairs. Henceforth it was increasingly difficult to separate colonial from European politics. The "line," beyond which Europe's relationships and law were almost inoperative a century earlier, had disappeared; and Europe, at home and oversea, was now all but one. Hereafter it was scarcely possible to touch this vast web of interests at any point without producing a reaction throughout the whole. And, in particular, the powers at the center became peculiarly sensitive to disturbance on the remotest edge of their empires.

This was not confined to politics and trade. The great

currents of European thought and practice, however unequally they reached into the extra-European world, were not without their influence, especially upon the communities of European blood. And the conceptions of those more distant societies, in turn, not infrequently produced reactions upon the old world, no less important because they were not always recognized. In the main, they differed fundamentally from the earliest reflexes of colonial influence. Those had reinforced the absolutist, military, and reactionary elements in the old world society, by lending their strength and resources to the less liberal powers of the continent. Now it was the progressive elements which gained. And, among the manifold influences which went to the reshaping of Europe during the eighteenth century, not the least were those which radiated from the North American colonies.

CHAPTER XXXI

RELIGION, INTELLECT, AND INDUSTRY. 1700-1750

If there is one characteristic of European peoples more extraordinary than another in the field of intellect it is the amazing discrepancy between their actual and their recorded history. Had their development been confined to those concerns which fill their annals to the exclusion of almost every other topic,—the ambitions and activities of their rulers, war and diplomacy—the story of the three hundred years which culminated in the careers of Louis XIV and Charles XII would resemble nothing so much as the accounts of the rise and fall of Tartar and Zulu tribes, the exploits of Jenghiz Khan and Timur the Lame, of Chaka and Dingaan. Where there are a score of volumes on the elaborate and, for the most part, futile intrigues over the disposition of the inheritance of Charles II of Spain, there is scarcely one on the evolution, in the same period, of the mightiest agent of the modern world, the steam engine. Where there are a hundred narratives of the battles of the wars with which the eighteenth century began, there is hardly to be found a tolerable account of that economic revolution which then commenced to alter the whole basis of civilized society.

Fortunately for Europe and mankind in general, however, the long coil of bloodshed and intrigue from which the system of European states had begun to emerge by the close of the seventeenth century, had been but one manifestation of the energy of its peoples during that period. The growth of commerce and industry, with the attendant leisure and opportunity which wealth engendered; the consequent development of letters and learning; the progress of science and invention; and the gradual transformation of an age of faith and authority into an era of doubt and investigation,

had now altered the whole aspect and tendencies of life and thought, and created the beginnings of a truly modern world.

Had a belated traveler, left over from the time when Prince Henry the Navigator and Poggio Bracciolini began to extend European knowledge and power into the realms of the unknown, made his way across the continent in the days of the treaties of Utrecht and Nystad, he would have found himself confronted on every hand with evidences that a revolution had taken place in the world he had known three centuries earlier. He would, indeed, have traveled scarcely more rapidly than in his own day, since, though roads were better, horses' legs or men's had improved but little, and canals, though they increased the facilities, contributed nothing to the speed of transportation. But the wagon-trains, the post-riders, the vehicles of all sorts which he met would have seemed a striking contrast to the pack-horses, the pedlars, the pilgrims, and men-at-arms with which his own time had been familiar. These, no less than the châteaus and country houses which he passed, the decaying or decayed castles and monastic establishments, the cities stretching far beyond their mediæval walls, with their great warehouses, dockyards, and wharves would have argued not merely an increase of population and wealth but of a peace unknown to feudal times, and a commerce impossible to that earlier period.

Comparison with Europe of the 15th century

He would have seen peasants working in fields whose methods of cultivation and whose crops had changed but little from those of his own day. But once within the walls of the inns or private houses he would have been tickled with a hundred dishes unknown to his generation. The plate and napery and furniture, knives, forks, and spoons, china and glassware, even the tables and chairs would have seemed amazing to one accustomed to the semi-barbarous furnishings and cookery of the early fifteenth century. He might have felt a certain loss of the more picturesque side of life. The men's broad-skirted coats, knee-breeches, stockings, and buckled shoes, their marvelous waistcoats, their shirts and neckwear, their wigs and three-cornered hats, might have seemed to him a poor exchange for doublet and curt-hose.

The women's hoopskirts and high dressed hair might well have roused the awe if not the admiration of one who remembered the simpler and more graceful robes of an earlier time.

An artist or an architect, he would have been scarcely less amazed at the marvels of color and form which looked out at him from canvas and fresco, than at the domed and pillared neo-classical monuments which had replaced the graceful Gothic arches of his day. A soldier, he would have been as much surprised at the absence of armor as at the musket and pistol, the field and siege artillery; the fortresses which had replaced the mediæval castles; the size and discipline of the national armies. A man of affairs, he would have been absorbed by the contrast between the volume and methods of public and private business and that of his own time, the huge increase in circulating medium, of banks and credit, of national finance, no less than in a world-commerce unfamiliar to his experience. For he would have heard on every hand of distant lands, their very names unknown to him, now forming part of the great European world.

Above all, had he been a scholar or scientist, he would have been confounded by a new world of thought and speech. He would have met with no universal tongue, which, like the Latin of his own day, served as a common medium of expression among the different peoples of the continent. He would have found no universal church; and, in place of the narrow circle of accepted truth, half-scriptural, half-Aristotelian, of his time, he would have been confronted by a body of knowledge and a variety of opinions no less overwhelming in range than in content. New faiths, new processes of thought, new doubts, new methods of attaining truth, would have assailed him on every hand. In his own day men had greatly feared that they might sail over the world's edge into space; they had feared still more that too great daring of the spirit might bring on them the terrors of eternity. Now, neither the dangers of the earth nor the fear of the church held them back from adventures all but inconceivable to mediæval minds. They looked about a world now tolerably well known; they viewed a sky no longer the

unknowable abode of spirits, but filled with the visible evidences of a universe in which earth and man played very different parts from that conceived three centuries earlier. The natural had largely replaced the supernatural in men's thought; this world, the next. Dogma and revelation had largely given way to reason, investigation, law; and superstition had been modified to faith or even to doubt in matters still beyond the intellect to solve. In such a world the mediæval mind would have found itself at loss; and a man of the fifteenth century might well have dreamed that Revelation had come true, that he beheld a new heaven and a new earth.

Politics

But had he been a statesman, considering rather the interaction of rulers and states upon each other than these deeper matters of man's daily life, he would have been far better able to understand the world about him. Europe had changed, indeed, in its concepts of government and international relationships, and still more in the formal conduct of its business. Public affairs were now on greater scale and involved a different set of powers from those he knew; but the motives behind them still remained the same, and political methods were not so widely different from those in other ages, that he would have found himself wholly at fault. Feudalism, indeed, was no longer in evidence as an active factor in polity, since the nation or the state had replaced it in affairs. Yet one who had witnessed the earlier conflict between England and France could have conceived, despite its different scope and circumstance, this second Hundred Years' War in which the Peace of Utrecht brought a truce. He who had seen the first Frederick of Hohenzollern become the first Elector of Brandenburg could well have understood this later Frederick who from that dignity now became the first king of Prussia. He who had lived in the days of the Great Schism and the death of Huss would have been able to comprehend something of the ecclesiastical division of western Europe into Catholic and Protestant communions. Nor would one who had seen the house of Hapsburg ascend the imperial throne have been wholly at a loss to understand the situation

of that dynasty at the beginning of the eighteenth century. Given the knowledge of the great geographical discoveries, he could even have understood the conflict for lands beyond the sea which had become a part of European history. Beside these things, material, and especially intellectual, advance would have appeared but little short of the miraculous. For the ambitions of princes and peoples are among the oldest motives of politics, while the elements which gave Europe of the eighteenth century a different character from that of the fifteenth lay chiefly outside the scope of their activities.

Among these the developments in science and literature, philosophy, and theology were not alone. In the preceding generation, not even the glitter of the Grand Monarque had quite obscured the triumphs of Newton and Leibnitz, nor the advance in the art of war surpassed the triumphs of the men of peace. So in the era of European war and diplomacy which followed, the skill of the inventors and the progress of society rivaled the activities of the diplomats and the productions of the men of thought and letters.

Letters

These last, indeed, were by no means contemptible, though even while France under Louis XIV and the Regency rose to courtly and literary eminence there were signs of an approaching change. The vigor of that movement, which had signalized the earlier years of the great king had exhausted itself, and his power had not been enough to raise up genius worthy of comparison with what had gone before. The dramatic talents of the court favorite, Crébillon, were far from equaling those of Molière and Racine, and fell below them in morals as in inspiration. The novels of Le

1715

Sage, crowned by his masterpiece of *Gil Blas,* which introduced the so-called picaresque romance into European literature, surpassed, indeed, the earlier efforts of Madame Lafayette. But the poems of Jean Baptiste Rousseau, or memoirs of St. Simon, with all their interest, scarcely reached the heights of the masters who had preceded them. And even the delicate beauty of Watteau's painting, in its courtly medium of fans and furniture, its charm of artificial shepherds and shepherdesses playing at a return to nature, lost

LES CHAMPS ELYSÉES.

After the painting by Watteau. Compare with Raphael's La Belle Jardinière, Vol. I, p. 176.

something of the strength it might have shown in a freer and less sophisticated atmosphere.

Voltaire and Montesquieu

None the less his paintings, in which were mingled the artificial and the simple life, revealed a spirit destined to revolutionize the life and thought of European society; and, in its very failure to create a perfect illusion of simplicity, showed the direction in which European taste was rapidly tending. This was almost immediately made manifest in other fields. Scarcely was Louis XIV in his grave when the appearance of a new drama, the *Henriade,* introduced a new figure into European literature, the young Voltaire, as he chose to call himself. During his imprisonment in the Bastille, he had meditated this dramatic conception of the first Bourbon, Henry of Navarre, and with it gave a new turn to French literature. Scarcely were the treaties confirming the Utrecht settlement signed when the *Lettres Persanes,* from the pen of another author, as yet unknown, Montesquieu, began not only a new genre of letters, but inaugurated the attack on the formal authority which had been crystallized in the preceding reign. And scarcely had Orleans assumed the regency when the long quarrel between the Jesuits and the so-called Jansenists came to a head in the latter's appeal from Papal authority to that of a general council of the church.

1722-3

1721

The Papacy and the Jansenists 1713

Such an incident was peculiarly significant. The growing strength of reactionary influence during the later years of Louis XIV had found expression in the destruction of Port Royal, the center of Jansenist influence. Simultaneously with the Peace of Utrecht, the Pope, inspired by the Jesuits, had issued the Bull called *Unigenitus,* condemning the Jansenist propositions. But not all the power of Pope and Jesuits, backed by the influence of the aged king and the half-hearted acquiescence of the Parlement, could stifle discussion or prevent a schism in the Church of France. A third of the French bishops refused assent to the Papal-Jesuit contention. The liberal Catholics, the literary men, now relieved from the repression of the Grand Monarque's later years, above all the rising school of so-called Philosophers, among whom Voltaire and Montesquieu were conspicuous,

rallied not so much to the support of the Jansenists as to the attack upon the Jesuits and the tyranny of authority. With this France entered on a long controversy which was to affect the whole future of her thought and practice in political scarcely less than ecclesiastical affairs.

Clement XI

Of all the figures of the time, perhaps that of the Pope who issued the pronouncement against the Jesuits best typified the forces then at work remaking Europe—for upon him they bore the hardest. The career of Clement XI was, in fact, the tragedy of the old order. An able and accomplished man, he found himself impotent before the forces which dominated his time. He desired to remain neutral in the War of the Spanish Succession—and he was compelled to recognize first Philip V, then the Archduke Charles as king of Spain! In the Peace of Utrecht, almost alone among the powers of western Europe, the Papacy was ignored, and its various claims on Italian territory were not even given the courtesy of consideration. His Papal interdict on Savoy was treated with contempt, and his reaffirmation of Papal infallibility in matters of fact met with perhaps even less success than his condemnation of Jansenist heresies or his advocacy of the more humane treatment of criminals. He was the symbol of an age already past, and in his day the office which he held sank to the lowest point it had reached since the Reformation.

Classicism

The situation in which he found himself was typical of Europe at the close of the great national wars from which she was beginning to emerge. It was a curious compound of the old and new. The neo-classicism which, since the Renaissance, had gradually replaced scholasticism in the European mind, had reached its culmination. The splendid burst of natural vigor which succeeded the humanistic revival in arts and letters had, after the manner of all things human, hardened to a school. The educational leaders of Europe had replaced the mediæval trivium and quadrivium with a system chiefly confined to classics, mathematics, and theology. In

1636-1711

letters the influence of Boileau, "the legislator of Parnassus," had served to crystallize a tendency toward formalism as

against flexibility, and conformity to rules as opposed to spontaneity. His *L'Art Poétique,* and the *Essay on Criticism* of the Englishman Pope, alike condemned the winged Pegasus of the two preceding centuries to tread the roads laid out for him through the far-spreading fields of poetry. Prose followed the same course, and the last years of Louis XIV, like the Age of Anne, revealed a powerful impulse toward formal models in the two chief centers of European literature. For,

> "Song from celestial heights had wandered down
> Put off her robe of sunlight, dew, and flame,
> And donned a modish dress to charm the town.
> . . . . . .
> She saw with dull emotion—if she saw,
> The vision of the glory of the world."

Architecture 1675-1740

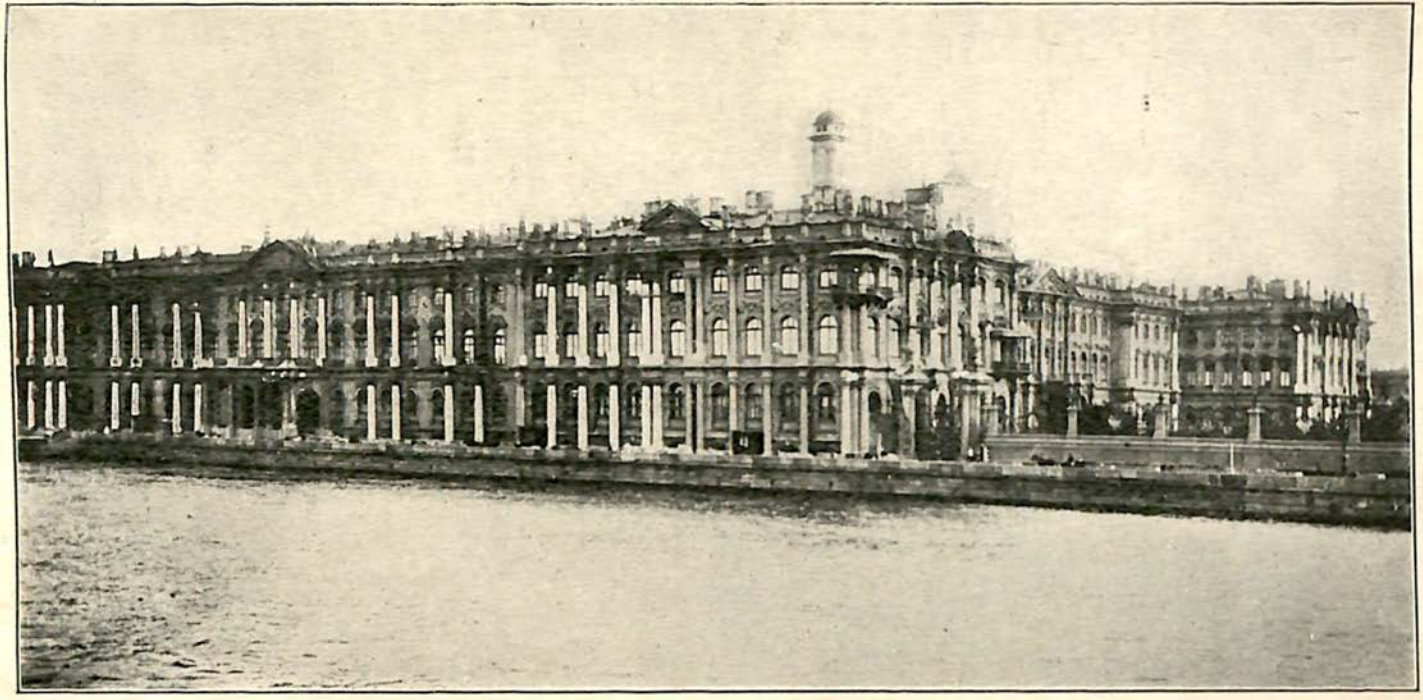
In architecture the same tendency expressed itself. The influence of Palladio had gradually made its way through western Europe and to those eastern states where French models were now increasingly accepted as the acme of taste, till its heavy hand was evident on every building. In France, beside the extravagance of Versailles, was seen Perrault's completed masterpiece, the Louvre, with the Hôtel des Invalides and the Pantheon; in England, the Cathedral of St. Paul's—whose dome and portico echo the glory of St. Peter's —reflected the same Palladian influence. The services of Marlborough were rewarded by a palace which in Vanbrugh's hands became a model of massive magnificence, and the epitaph of that architect, "Lie heavy on him, Earth, for he Laid many a heavy weight on thee," might well be taken as the motto of the whole neo-classic school. The Great Elector's buildings in Berlin exhibited the same monumental character. Even in the newly erected Russian capital, French architects carried out the principles of the Italo-Vitruvian school, whose triumph at once destroyed the beautiful pointed Gothic, which it now replaced, and obscured the glories of true classic models which it professed to represent. Domestic architecture took tone from the same influence, as beside the spired châteaus of France rose the square monoliths of city

and country house; and in England the neo-Gothic Tudor was replaced by Jacobean and now by Georgian formality.

Formalism

Social affairs had followed much the same course. From the court of Louis XIV had flowed a stream of ceremonial which, paralleled or imitated by the rulers of the continent, and taken up by society in general, tended to rob human association of every symptom of spontaneity and make men's intercourse a series of formalized observances from which meaning had fled. The clothing in which society lived, and, in so far as it could, moved, was peculiarly ill-adapted to any practical purpose. The elaborate and beautiful silk coats and waistcoats of the men; the still more marvelous costumes of the women, which the improvements in the weaving industry, and especially the extraordinary increase in the use of silk provided, contributed at once to the gayety of plumage and the wealth of that nation to which Colbert's foresight had introduced the manufacture of silk. The powdered wigs of the males, indeed, paled into insignificance beside the vast and towering head-dresses of the female leaders of society, but together they made this the golden age of hair-dressers.

Manners and amusements took on the same tone. The freer and livelier dances froze into the stately minuet. The card-table became not merely the scene of gambling but a kind of social shrine. The use of snuff became universal, and snuff boxes claimed the talents of goldsmith and miniaturist. Duelling maintained and even increased its vogue; and the code of honor became continually more rigid. The stage revealed the same tendency. Shakespeare was discredited by the critics as rude and uncouth. When his plays appeared at all—and no amount of formalism could quite drive them from the stage—they were too often enlivened by the appearance of Hamlet and Lady Macbeth in full eighteenth-century costume! The result was an age of dullness which in France was rendered endurable by the taste which adorned it with some saving graces, but which in many quarters, especially in the lesser German courts, reached depths scarcely supportable to even their habitués, however inspirited



The Winter Palace, St. Petersburg.

with the vastly increasing use of the heavier wines of this "age of port."

Even great fields of intellect were infected with the same formality, and as one passes from the more spontaneous literature of the seventeenth century into the more dignified productions of its successor, he is acutely conscious of a decrease of interest in the form if not in the matter of much that held the attention of a more sedate era. It was, indeed, productive along certain lines, as the development of antiquarianism testified. In others, notably in education, it had become conventional almost to sterility. But in all it revealed that tendency toward form, that devotion to ceremonial, which, whether expressed in stately mansions and formal gardens, or in the verses which were inspired by Pope or Boileau, marked a movement which had lost its vigor.

The reaction

Yet by that curious law of human no less than of physical evolution which gives to every action its inevitable and equal reaction, at the height of this new reign of formal authority a change prepared. The development of absolute and national kingship which reached its height under Louis XIV had been accompanied by the revolution which drove the Stuarts from the English throne. The French effort to dominate Europe had been foiled by the reassertion of its unity in diversity, expressed in grand alliances and the doctrine of balance of power. Now in the world of intellect the same phenomenon was observable.

Theology

This was particularly true in the realm of theology. There the assaults of science in the two preceding centuries had driven men to one of these alternatives: complete rejection of all discoveries which trenched in any way upon the doctrines of revealed religion; or the rejection of dogma where it was weakened by the new knowledge. From this arose a fresh antagonism bearing little relation to the older divisions of Catholic and Protestant. On the one side, however they differed among themselves on questions of theology and ecclesiastical supremacy, were ranged the champions of orthodox belief. On the other stood the growing company of those who under whatever name, deist, philosopher, agnostic,

unbeliever, atheist, free-thinker, scientist, accepted the conclusions of investigation and reason. These, either rejected wholly church dogmas; or held judgment suspended; or strove to reconcile reason and dogma. But they looked toward the substitution of some intellectually defensible doctrine of universe and man and their creation and Creator for irrational belief. The old predicate, "I believe, therefore I know," found itself confronted by the new, "I know, therefore I believe." Cutting across all bounds of race or faith, the principle made way. Whether one said with the English Shaftesbury, "A wise man has but one religion, but what it is a wise man never tells"; or, with the French Voltaire, observed that "if there were no God it would be necessary to invent one"; or declared with the Swedish botanist he "thought God's thoughts after him," the principle was the same. Rationalism, having established itself in thought, had begun to make headway against a blind belief. In the words of the English poet, Pope, whose formal versification aptly typified the spirit of his times, it came to be recognized that "order is Heaven's first law."

With the efforts to discover the secrets of the law and order of the universe there came, inevitably, a definite break with that theology which for more than a thousand years had reckoned such subjects beyond the limits of human prerogative even more than of human capacity. The theologians of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries had spent an infinity of energy in argument as to whether man was or was not a free agent, whether the course of every individual was predetermined from the beginning, or whether he had a choice dependent on his own will, wholly or in part. That long and bitter controversy which has, in some sort, conditioned all theological and philosophical speculation, in all places and at all times since thought began, has, indeed, an endless fascination. It is, like all such abstract and metaphysical problems, insoluble. But this much is certain. Whatever the ultimate fact, men have acted as if they were free agents; and upon the doctrine of free-will, whether consciously or unconsciously, have been based man's material

achievements. And it is not the least significant commentary on the relation between known faith and human practice that among the believers in predestination have been some of the most active and successful examples of the influence of a determined will to achieve.

At this juncture there appeared another of those antagonisms on which the religious life is based—reason against revelation, or perhaps better, mysticism against materialism. It was revealed in an almost coincident attack from two quite opposite directions, and by two wholly antagonistic elements, on the existing ecclesiastical establishments, Protestant no less than Catholic. Since the convulsions of the sixteenth century, and in the face of scientific progress in the seventeenth, the churches had tended to entrench themselves in system and dogma equally removed from the rationalism of the scientists and the zeal of the fanatics. Though they differed from each other, they had tended toward uniformity themselves and grown from a concern of the spirit into a school or cult. Such is the tendency of human thought, and such, inevitably, brings further reaction. By the eighteenth century "the church," whether Protestant or Catholic, tended to become not so much a spiritual force as an "estate," a social institution, which, like the aristocracy, was a static element, desiring only to be let alone. Liberalism, on the other hand, was less a party than it was the mass of educated men. The eighteenth century, in consequence, saw a scientific renaissance, like the fifteenth-century classical movement, which produced, not paganism, but indifference, or antagonism.

The scientific renaissance

For men filled with the restless and skeptical impulse which science had brought, the churches took far too much on faith. For men to whom the universe and life remained a vast, insoluble mystery, the churches seemed far too practical and material. From the beginning, the mystic and the scientist had found themselves equally opposed to the establishment, and the preceding centuries are full of their conflicts. Copernicus and Galileo, German Anabaptist and English Quaker, alike had found themselves outside the law

The mystics

no less of Reformed communions than of Roman. Now, with the triumph of science and a freer thought, across the broadening gulf between belief and knowledge one element found expression for its state of mind in mystical concepts, the other in an effort to explain man's relations to the universe and its Creator on rational grounds.

The Moravians

Sprung from the older stock of German and English dissent, new shoots grew side by side in friendly emulation. One group of German Lutherans, denied by their brethren, looked back to Huss as their founder. These, owing their

1720-

strength rather to their simple pietism than to the Augsburg confession which they professed, were known from the place of their origin as Moravians. Under the leadership and protection of a Saxon nobleman, Count Zinzendorf, they now began to extend their labors outside their old confines. From the first their missionary impulse was strong. During the War of the Polish Succession they despatched a mission to

1733

St. Thomas and began a work in Greenland which brought that cheerless and long-neglected land within the circle of Christianity. In British North America they found a fertile field for their energies. At Bethlehem in Pennsylvania, be-

1741

side the Quakers who welcomed them, Zinzendorf established one of those "communities" in whose peculiar organization the Moravian spirit found its characteristic expression. From there, as well as from Georgia, where some of them had joined Oglethorpe's colony, their missionaries soon pushed past the frontier to rival the zeal of the Jesuits among the Indian tribes between the Ohio and the Great Lakes.

The Methodists 1720-42

They were not alone in their advent into the western world. Beside them settled in Pennsylvania the adherents of that German sect, known from their Reformation founder as Schwenkfelders. In later years these bodies were reinforced by others who, like the so-called Shakers, with their celibate communities, added another element to religious experience and to New World society. Hither, also, came the leaders of another and, as it was to prove, a greater communion, not uninfluenced by the Moravians, the so-called Wesleyans or Methodists. These were the product of that

serious Puritanism not unknown even within the Anglican establishment. They owed their origin to a little religious society which began in Oxford undergraduate days, and under the influence of two of its original members, John and Charles Wesley, and the eloquence of its apostle Whitefield, had slowly expanded into a new communion. All three of these founders were connected with Oglethorpe's experiment in Georgia, where their relations with the Moravians at once inspired and affected their further development. Based on a doctrine of personal salvation by conviction of sin and conversion, they relied on the emotional appeal of exhortation by itinerant ministers. The new gospel, preached wherever men could be gathered to hear, in churches, houses, marketplace, or fields, appealed to classes little touched by an establishment which rejected the new society as it had earlier expelled the nonconformist "denominations."

Like the Moravians, to whom they owed so much, the Methodists revealed a missionary spirit as fervid as that which had fired St. Dominic and St. Francis five centuries earlier, and still inspired their followers in the remoter districts of New Spain. Along the far-reaching frontiers of the English colonies, no less than in the more thickly settled districts, and in the cities and countryside of England, their itinerant ministers and circuit-riders spread a network of congregations, keeping pace with the expansion of their countrymen abroad as they sought to bring the gospel to the neglected elements at home. They were reinforced by men who, like William Law with his *Serious Call to a Devout and Holy Life,* profoundly influenced the leaders and followers of this so-called Evangelical movement. And their labors were supplemented by those of other remarkable men, one of whom attained a peculiar eminence by his labors in this eighteenth-century religious reformation, or rather revival, which was known in the English colonies as the Great Awakening.

1686-1761

This was the Scandinavian mystic, Emanuel Swedenborg. He began his intellectual life with an interest in science, and his contributions and prophecies make him a

Swedenborg 1688-1772

prodigy of his times. He anticipated the discoveries of the palæontologists, suggested the nebular hypothesis of the formation of planets, advanced theories of light, of molecular magnetism, and cosmic atoms,—even proposed the principle of a flying machine which a later generation found practical. Though a man of the world, he advanced from science through philosophy to "soul analysis" and so to a new revelation upon which a new sect founded itself. Combining, as he did, eminent talents for practical affairs, great scientific attainments, and those mystical qualities which made him seem more than human to many men of his generation, he was not merely one of the most extraordinary characters which Europe has produced, but a symbol of the extraordinary period in which he lived.

The rationalists

The older ecclesiastical establishments felt more than the pressure of the men of greater faith, for, at the same moment of this far-reaching religious revival, beside Moravians and Methodists, Schwenkfelders and Swedenborgians, the men of reason made their way into the arena of theological controversy. Apart from the conflict which seemed then inevitable between dogma based on revelation and doubt based on reason—between science and religion as it has come to be incorrectly known—the efforts of the philosophers from Descartes through Spinoza and Locke to Leibnitz, had endeavored to find a reconciling formula between knowledge and faith. Thus they developed another school, the so-called Deists. They denied revelation and based their belief on a Creator as demonstrated by the discoveries of science and the "natural constitution" of the universe. Their beginnings lay chiefly in England, where the teachings of Lord Herbert of Cherbury in the preceding century were continued by Locke and taken up by a group which included the political leaders, Shaftesbury and Bolingbroke. Thence these doctrines spread to the continent where, in this period, they found their greatest champion in the chief man of letters of his time.

Voltaire 1694-1778

This was the Frenchman, François Marie Arouet, better known by his assumed name of Voltaire, whose brilliance

was then bringing him into European view. He had already won his spurs as a dramatist, and a visit to England put him in touch with a new intellectual and political world which he, in turn, with Montesquieu, now introduced to the continent. Gifted with an almost inconceivable fecundity of genius, and a delightful style, versatile, original, epigrammatic, unconventional, he was inspired with a sardonic wit which made him the most effective and formidable of champions. In society, in the state, above all in the church, he found himself continually in conflict with constituted authority, for he was, essentially, the spirit that denies. A poet and a dramatist inferior only to the greatest France produced, a story-teller and a moralist, an essayist and a philosopher, his epigrams became the subtlest weapons in the armory of those forces opposed to the shams of existing authority. An historian, he directed that branch of letters into new channels; a dabbler in experimental science, his tendencies were continually toward doubt. Above all a satirist, he became the most followed and feared of all free-thinkers. No dignity was too high, no superstition too sacred to escape his barbed wit, no cause too hopeless to enlist his support, no individual too humble to engage his protection, no device of authority too subtle for his adroitness in evading its penalties. And, amid the mixed meanness and greatness of the man, the intellect of Voltaire became a dominating influence in European thought.

Letters and philosophy 1700-42

He was but one, though the most eminent, of a class now making a place for itself in affairs, the men of letters. "The thinking heads of all nations had in secret come to a majority and rose fiercely against restraint," challenging the ecclesiastical and even the political authorities for leadership and popular allegiance. It was as yet, indeed, impossible for scientists, even inventors, to live by the exercise of their talents. Letters was not a wholly independent profession. The private patron or some separate source of income was necessary, for public support as yet scarcely enabled a man to live by his pen. But the preceding hundred years had seen a rapid development, especially in the west. Printers

had grown into publishers; newspapers and periodicals were now an element in the daily life of thousands; and literature was fast learning to walk alone.

The result was notably conspicuous in England. As the Age of Louis XIV brought forth a Boileau whose *Art Poétique* had molded French poetry on more rigid lines, and the Age of Anne had found its characteristic expression in the rhymed epigrams of Pope; so, following the triumphs of Rochefoucauld, La Fontaine, and Fénelon in French prose, the English essayists Steele, Addison, and Swift had founded a new school of English literary expression. As Voltaire had crowned the line of French satirists, Swift, whose talents fell short only of Voltaire's, filled a like place in English letters. At the same time Defoe, turning from political pamphleteering, where his ability had ranked him all but equal to Swift, continued the tradition established by Mrs. Behn and Madame de Lafayette, with the publication of his
1719 immortal story of *Robinson Crusoe*. This was followed by other tales from his own pen and by those of his imitators and successors. And in the year that saw the European
The English novel 1740 panorama change with the exit of the rulers of Austria, Prussia, and Russia, came the issue of Samuel Richardson's more ambitious experiment in fiction, the story of *Pamela*. With it and its companion-piece, *Joseph Andrews*, from the
1742 pen of another journalist and pamphleteer, Henry Fielding, the modern novel was born. Thus, as the classical school reached its climax, from the side of journalism there sprang a new form of writing destined to play a major part in the future development of letters. Simultaneously, the English
1731 *Gentleman's Magazine*, following the example already set in Holland and in France, added another element of strength to the growing power of the press with the beginning of the periodical. As these forces were added to the newspaper, which was now firmly established, a new age of literature began.

Music But if the novel of life and character, as distinguished from the mere romance, pointed the way to fresh developments in the world of letters, a concurrent event in the field of music

led to scarcely less far-reaching results. This was the development of the oratorio, a dramatic form of religious music which, originating in Italy, found its highest expression in the hands of Bach and his fellow-countryman, Handel. The one, in Germany, now advanced from his triumphs in the newer forms of suites, preludes and fugues, so-called, through the choral, to the great Passion music which crowned his fame. The other, meanwhile, in England, turned from his earlier successes in church music and opera to the same form, and in a brilliant succession of oratorios, beginning with *Esther* and culminating in the *Messiah*, brought this kind of choral and solo work to a pitch of perfection only equaled by his contemporary and never since excelled. With it, music, like literature and art, became more truly democratic. This was the more marked since the progress of the musical instrument makers had been particularly notable in the century preceding. In the hands of Stradivari the violin had just attained a perfection of form and tone which even now remains unequaled. The seventeenth century had seen the invention of the harpsichord, and in the years following the great wars of Europe the genius of the Italian inventor, Cristofori, gave Europe its first pianoforte. These, with the many improvements in wind and string instruments, made possible a new world of music.

1716-42

These were but a few of the notable phenomena of a period characterized by innovations in almost every phase of human endeavor. It was an age of scholars only less eminent than those who had shed luster on the three preceding centuries; and memorable for discoveries scarcely less noteworthy than those of the Renaissance; yet in each case with a difference peculiarly characteristic of the eighteenth century. At the same moment that the Northern War had come to an end, the site of the city of Herculaneum, buried under the ashes of Vesuvius in the first century of the Christian era, was found and a beginning made of those great excavations which from that day to this have added to our knowledge and enriched our artistic life with the material treasures of antiquity. Another generation saw Pompeii similarly recov-

Archæology

1719-38

ered, and the science of classical archæology firmly established as an adjunct of history and art. The study of inscriptions, so-called epigraphy, received fresh impulse; and, with it, advancing from the achievements of Du Cange who, in the generation just past had bridged the gap between ancient and modern speech with his great mediæval Latin glossary, other scholars enlarged the knowledge of that past. Art tended to follow the same impulse; and this age of antiquarians revealed no more typical figure than the engraver Piranesi, whose burin preserved an almost infinite number of the architectural remains of classical antiquity.

Scholarship 1700-50

To the work of Montfauçon and others on Greek handwriting, or palæography, was added one on Roman script issued by the order of Benedictines to which he belonged, and whose services to knowledge were so eminent. These increased the knowledge of the past no less than the material which Italy now supplied in the edition of her chronicles by Muratori; while his countryman, Maffei, reconstructed the history of Verona and revised so-called diplomatics contributed by Mabillon to the modern science of documents. Nor was this industry confined to Romance nations. England issued the Latin text and the translation of her greatest mediæval historian, Bede, and continued that study of Anglo-Saxon history and language, which the mid-seventeenth century had begun, by publishing her early chronicles. Still more, she related scholarship to practical affairs, by bringing together and printing, for the first time, collections of debates in Parliament, and the description of her older institutions, which were of no less importance to her publicists than to her scholars.

Applied science and invention 1700-50

This was, indeed, the great, outstanding, characteristic of the period; the mingling of the intellectual and the material. If the Renaissance had been peculiarly an age of the discovery and editing of manuscripts, the eighteenth century renaissance was the age of the antiquarians. And if the earlier period had seen its chief advance along the lines of pure science, and mathematics in particular, this period revealed that tendency toward transforming those principles into

practice, and relating science to industry. The extraction of gas from coal, the extension of the principle of Newcomen's steam pumping-engine to the propulsion of vessels, Hadley's sextant, and the thermometers of Fahrenheit and Réaumur, witnessed the growing tendency to enlist scientific knowledge in the affairs of life as the age of invention approached. No less the experiments in cattle-breeding, in fertilizers, crop-rotation, soils and methods of cultivation which had set England on the path to agricultural revolution, promised at once an increase in the resources of the oldest of civilized pursuits and a surer foundation for the support of population whose rapid growth was already in evidence throughout Europe. In view of this it was at last coming to be recognized that "he who made two blades of grass grow where one grew before" was a factor thenceforth to be considered in the world's affairs.

The decline of classicism

Through all of this activity, particularly on the side of science, two general principles were observable. The first was the decline of the classical tradition as well as of mediæval ignorance and superstition. Each of these, in its way, had been an opponent of progress. The triumph of rationalism over the blind dogmatism of the middle ages had been powerfully aided by the introduction of the learning of the Greek and Roman world into the content of European thought and knowledge. That learning had been so pre-eminently helpful in the destruction of theological obscurantism, it had been so tremendously stimulating to the intellect, that, naturally enough, its value had been exaggerated. The long ascendancy of the church fathers had been replaced by that of the classical philosophers. Augustine and Athanasius, Origen and Tertullian gave way to Ptolemy and Pliny, Galen and Hippocrates, who thenceforth had dominated men's minds scarcely less than their predecessors.

Every department of life had been influenced by this change. Theology and education, science and scholarship, philosophy and literature fell before the new conquerors. In some measure this was essential to European progress; and from it flowed that impulse which set Europe on the

path which led through the Renaissance and the Reformation to a modern world. But men had scarcely begun to perceive that, however valuable the content and method of the ancients, their learning neither exhausted the field of knowledge nor was without its errors. Thenceforth, beginning with the second quarter of the sixteenth century, there had been carried on a twofold conflict. On the one hand the apostles of the modern school combated the ignorance of mankind and the superstition engendered by mediæval theology. On the other, they were compelled to struggle with those who adhered as blindly to the dicta of the classical writers as their predecessors had clung to the dogmas of the church.

The scientists and philosophers

In general, the burden of this long contention was borne by those men to whom was given the name of scientists, and they became the chief opponents of authority, whether classical or theological. They were aided by that group to which was ascribed the vague and generic name of philosophers, and from these proceeded the great antagonisms which marked the seventeenth century in particular. Little by little they made way. Before reason and investigation the authority of Pliny and Ptolemy, Galen and Hippocrates declined, Aristotle lost his ascendancy over the European intellect; and classical learning was infused with modern discovery. The classical tradition lingered longer in other fields. Education was still almost wholly dominated by it, architecture revealed its peculiar forms and characteristics, literature and scholarship were deeply tinged with its influence. But by the middle of the eighteenth century it had ceased to be the prevailing note in that scientific and philosophical activity upon which a great part of European progress depended. To it succeeded the devotion to "nature" which was to play as great a part in the future. This was due in part to actual progress, in part, no doubt, to changing taste. "Fashion perishes of its own vogue, and that vogue in turn by its own vogue." Man's mind revolts against monotony as it shrinks from too violent change; and the very progress of knowledge tends to destroy the forces which gave it birth.

Another of the principal factors in this change was that scientific advance is not, like the changes of taste, and even of politics, an erratic force. It is a cumulative process. With the invention of printing and the gradual diffusion of culture, the development of knowledge was secured as the investigators of each generation were enabled to build upon preceding labors and transmit their discoveries to their successors. Moreover, their work had another advantage. Especially as the eighteenth century came on, science contributed more and more to the practical side of life, increasing the capacity of men to achieve results in many fields which added at once to the comfort, the safety, and the satisfaction of the community. If the seventeenth century was the era of pure scientific discovery, the eighteenth century is preeminently the age of the beginning of what came to be known as applied science, whose results were clearly apparent in nearly every field of material endeavor, in manufacturing, in agriculture, in commerce, even in war and government.

Linnæus 1707-78

There are an infinite number of examples of this, and if the period of the early eighteenth century gave to the world no such discoveries as those which illuminated the generations from Galileo to Newton, science, like scholarship, entered upon an era scarcely less important. In it there is perhaps no more eminent figure than the Swedish botanist, Linnæus. He was a great collector and a great teacher, but he was much more. His *Systema Naturae* appeared in 1735 and a dozen editions were required in the ensuing generation. It was the beginning of that classification which characterizes the century; while his so-called "binominal" system of nomenclature, to indicate genus and species, became the standard for science to our own day. This scientific activity was not confined to cataloguing and classifying the knowledge of natural phenomena which established the so-called systematic branches of science. Nor was it unrelated to the antiquarianism and annotation which characterized much of the scholarship of the period. Human knowledge, indeed, had increased so greatly in the two preceding cen-

turies that such a process was as necessary as the concurrent preparation of dictionaries and encyclopedias in almost every conceivable field which accompanied this general stock-taking of the intellect, preparatory to another advance. But beside this apparently mechanical work went on a very real advance in attainment. The very collection and arrangement of material suggested new relations and new lines of investigation; and these suggestions were multiplied by the solution of problems whose answers pointed to still other questions in a field whose limits were the universe itself.

Growth of intellectual and cultural organization

This was accompanied by another phenomenon which characterized this epoch of intellectual progress,—the establishment of an extraordinary number of organizations and institutions to perpetuate and further the knowledge and skill acquired, to ameliorate suffering, and to stimulate interest in such work. In this great field all peoples, classes, and interests combined. France, England, Prussia, Russia, Sweden, Switzerland, Italy, royal and noble patronage, learned societies and individuals, joined in the movement. The earlier unity of western Europe which had been claimed by the Empire, and in large measure provided by the mediæval church, had broken down. Politically it had failed; religiously and intellectually it had been scarcely more effective. But as every nation took its place in the concurrent progress of science, letters, art, and scholarship, the field of intellect offered a more substantial meeting-place than any which had thus far appeared. Unlike the genius of individualism which had filled the seventeenth century with great discoveries, the eighteenth century used its talent for formal organization to systematize knowledge and develop co-ordination in its pursuit. For all Europe joined forces to conquer the realms of the unknown and make the world more endurable for the race.

The accomplishment of this task was aided by the encouragement of wealth and influence directed to these ends. The foundation of the Academy of St. Petersburg gave Euler an opportunity to continue the work of Newton in mathematics; while Maupertuis found his labors in the same field sup-

ported and encouraged by his appointment to the presidency of the Berlin Academy. Buffon's intendancy of the French royal gardens and museums enabled him to embark on the great task of classifying animals, which paralleled and supplemented Linnæus' work under the auspices of the Stockholm Academy, and laid the foundations of systematic zoölogy beside those of systematic botany. And with these great contributions to biology that science was fully embarked upon its long and important career.

Such activity was not confined to the foundation of academies and museums, nor the appointment of savants to their management. It took the form, among other things, of an extraordinary revival in the foundation of hospitals, unequaled since the middle ages. As the church in that period had exercised its humanitarian functions in this field among others, so now science roused itself to the same task, under far different conditions, if not from different motives. London, Paris, Edinburgh, Dublin, Dresden, Berlin, Vienna, Lisbon, New York, and Philadelphia, with a score of lesser places, set up new hospitals, lying-in wards, lectureships in medicine, clinics, and many sorts of practical instruction in healing. To this the wars which produced so much suffering contributed; and among the destructive results entailed by the ambitions of Prussia, the establishment of an improved system of medical and surgical arrangements for the army was perhaps the most substantial good which they produced.

Chemistry

Two fields of scientific activity were conspicuous in their progress during this period. The first was chemistry. If the mid-eighteenth century were notable for nothing else, it would be memorable for the contributions of investigators like the Swedish pharmacist, Scheele, who, in his humble laboratory, probably made more important discoveries than any single individual before or since. The organic acids, so familiar to modern practice under the names of tartaric, oxalic, citric, and gallic; manganese, chlorine, baryta; estimates of the proportions of oxygen in the air, which had so long puzzled mankind, rewarded his patient labors. In his hands technical chemistry, upon which so much of the rapidly

1742-86

approaching age of industrialism was to depend, took on new life. Still greater, on the more purely intellectual side, were the researches of the young Lavoisier, to whom the final overthrow of the long-lived phlogiston fallacy was due. With these men modern chemistry may be said to begin. And while it is futile to make the trite moral comparison between the labors of such men as these and the spectacular achievements of captains and kings, in their respective contributions to the comfort and capacity of the race, one may, at least, claim a place for them in the history of Europe beside the mistresses of Louis XV or even the conquests of the great Frederick.

Geology

The second of the sciences which showed signs of renewed vitality was geology. For almost the first time since Agricola wrote his great treatise on mineralogy in the sixteenth century, the constitution of the earth came into the active consideration of the European mind. This had profound results not only upon practical affairs and scientific progress, but, ultimately, upon such an apparently remote field as that of theology. It began, naturally enough, with conflict of theories regarding the origin of the rocks; and it had not gone far before it developed two schools of thought. On the one hand, the Vulcanists or Plutonists, as they were called, attributed geological action to fire, and so formed the igneous school, which held to a belief in a fiery central core to the earth. On the other, the Neptunists contended for the formation of rocks by crystallization or sedimentation from water. To this was added the study of fossils which, from the time of Leonardo da Vinci, had attracted the interest of intellectual men. And it was no long time before these elements were combined into speculation over the origin and the age of the planet. This, naturally, brought the new science into conflict with the adherents of the first chapter of Genesis, a conflict comparable to and perhaps even more bitter than that between the revelationists and the followers of Copernicus in the preceding century.

Character of the 18th century

The age now well under way has been declared to be a "bankrupt century." Viewed merely from the standpoint

of politics perhaps few periods have better merited such a title than the decades which followed the conclusion of the great wars. Yet an era which saw France push the bounds of European power through the Missouri valley, Russia secure the north Pacific coast of North America, Spain advancing to meet them both, and the English colonies doubling their population and their wealth, can scarcely be reckoned of no value to even political history. Still less can an era which boasts the names of Voltaire and Montesquieu, Fielding and Richardson, Handel and Bach, the Wesleys, Swedenborg, Linnæus and Buffon, with all their fellow-workers, be counted as nothing to the advancement of the race. Little as men had gained by the transfer of sovereignty from one royal house to another, in those realms beyond the reach of princeling and diplomat the world revealed, in this eventful period, the dawn of a new era of mankind.

There is a law of nature which decrees that the very success of any organism tends to bring about its extinction. The sedge at the lake-side gradually builds up soil by its decay and makes the foundation for other forms of vegetable life which replace it. The pine forest, by its too great crowding, dwarfs and stunts its own members. Excess of human population brings its attendant evils of dirt and pestilence, of degradation and starvation, unless relieved by artificial means. The frontiersman pushes forward into the wilderness until frontiersman and frontier alike disappear; the pioneer clears the land and makes it cultivable and habitable by increasing numbers—and there are no longer pioneers. The same is true in many fields, even in that of intellect, where it is strengthened by other forces; and it was peculiarly characteristic of eighteenth-century thought and literature.

The classical influence which had set Europe on a new stage of its progress during the Renaissance had followed the natural course of such movements. It had triumphed over scholasticism through its product, humanism. It had become the dominant element in European intellectual life; it had grown into a cult, with fixed rules and inflexible standards. It had become formalized, and it had begun to lose itself in

blind alleys of repetition and imitation. In some degree the same tendency had overtaken society. The courtliness which had made such progress in the preceding century had become so formalized as to make human intercourse all but unendurable to the more intelligent or the more original members of society. Government and war took the same course. The one lost its energy in routine; the other turned soldiers into disciplined machines. Class distinctions hardened into caste; and the very virtues of organization for which the eighteenth century was distinguished threatened to stifle originality in those who submitted to its restrictions.

In no small degree this was true of literature. As the eighteenth century came on, the formal essay and still more formal verse replaced the more spontaneous fashions of the seventeenth century. The regular beat of rhymed pentameter and hexameter overpowered the freer measures of an earlier age. The artificial seemed about to conquer the natural. Had there not come a revolt against all this, the world might, as during the middle ages, have been reduced to formal sterility. But the spirit of individualism was too strong by this time to submit to mere authority. Revolt stirred on every hand; and originality, however discouraged by those who directed the business of life, continually burst the bonds of convention. The charm of formalism, whether in dress or gardens, in letters, art, and manners, which must always appeal to one side of human nature, did not, indeed, disappear. But beside or against it the tendency toward deviation from the prescribed path continually made way. Under the dominance of classicism, romanticism made its feeble beginning. The middle ages again found expression in literature and scholarship; to the court painters and their splendor of robes and trappings succeeded the pastoral painters, then the "natural" school. Against the artificial conventions, naturalism began to make head in every field. To the reign of reason succeeded the appeal to nature and the law of nature. In this the dictators of letters as well as the political absolutists found their most dangerous enemy. The first third of the century saw archæology revolutionize scholarship, and journalism revive litera-

ture, while state and church felt the disintegrating influence of Montesquieu and Voltaire, and political economy altered under the assaults of the Physiocrats. And, especially in England, there began that movement which was to produce a revolution against the literary establishment.

> "Men felt life's tide, the sweep and surge of it,
> And craved a living voice, a natural tone.
> . . . . . .
> From dewy pastures, uplands sweet with thyme
> A virgin breeze freshened the jaded day,
> It wafted Collins' lonely vesper-chime,
> It breathed abroad the frugal note of Gray."

Thus, at the very moment when classicism, absolutism and formalism were most in evidence, from the ground which they themselves had so largely prepared, sprang new forms of thought and practice which were to challenge and finally to overthrow the older order.

Founded some seven centuries before, like Austria itself, as an outpost against peoples chiefly of Slavic blood on Germany's eastern frontier, Brandenburg's history, in Hohenzollern hands, had been a record of slow expansion. Unlike its Suabian neighbors, the Hapsburgs, the Hohenzollerns had thus far played a minor part even in German history. They had never achieved the imperial dignity, their conquests had been neither so extensive nor so profitable, their alliances had not brought them the wide territories nor the royal dignities their rivals had enjoyed. From the title of counts of Zollern
1192 they had advanced to that of Burggrafs of Nuremberg; from that, in the fifteenth century, to Markgrafs or border counts
1415 of Brandenburg; and to the dignity of Elector. The Reformation put in their hands the duchy of Prussia as a lay fief. The Thirty Years' War gave them four bishoprics in western Germany. The long conflict with Sweden secured to them the Baltic lands of Pomerania, and, at the Great
1688 Elector's death, the Hohenzollerns held throughout northern Germany scattered possessions almost from the Rhine to the Vistula.

These, with their Brandenburg homeland along the lower Oder, and a group of claims upon their neighbors' territories, formed an extraordinary state, consisting, it has been aptly said, of frontiers to be filled in as opportunity presented itself. The country was, for the most part, barren and poor. The policy of its rulers, in particular the Great Elector, had been directed toward its improvement in material resource, no less than to expansion. Especially in the seventeenth century it had been reinforced by Protestant immigrants fleeing from persecution in France and Germany; its marshes drained, its barrens populated and tilled; its industries strengthened. Still it was poor, and its importance lay chiefly in an army out of proportion to its resources, which made it a formidable foe, and in the shrewd, none too scrupulous policy of its ruling house. Such was the power now equipped with a long hoarded treasure, a warlike people, and a powerful army, which came into the hands of its new ruler, Frederick II.

Nothing in that young man's early career gave promise of his real character or aims. A youth spent in pursuit of music and literature was varied by bitter quarrels with his martinet father, after the custom of his house. The composition of bad poetry, the doctrines embodied in his essay, *Anti-Machiavel,* seemed to presage an era of Prussian renaissance. Still less did the accession of the Hapsburg princess, Maria Theresa, young, charming, inexperienced, premonish war; while Russia, disturbed by faction and conspiracy, till the Czarina Elizabeth came to the throne, seemed as impotent for offense or defense as France, subject to the caprice of royal mistresses. Moreover, the old Emperor had secured Europe's assent to the Pragmatic Sanction which guaranteed the peaceful succession of his daughter to the throne, and seemed to insure a new lease of life to the great house now extinct in the male line.

Frederick the Great and Maria Theresa 1740

Never was the appearance of affairs more deceiving than at the outset of this fifth decade of the eighteenth century; and never did man more deceive himself than the Emperor Charles VI. Scarcely was he in his grave when, taking advantage of the apparent weakness of his house, three claimants to the Austrian inheritance appeared, the King of Saxony, the King of Spain, and the Elector of Bavaria. Each based his claim upon heredity; but each relied upon the inability of the archduchess to defend herself. And, as if this were not enough, the frivolous court of France, eager to share the triumph and the spoil, entered the lists against its old antagonists, and the last of the great dynastic conflicts of Europe, the War of the Austrian Succession, began its long and bloody course.

The War of the Austrian Succession 1740-48

But before arrangements were made between France and Austria's other enemies, before the allies could put their forces in the field, a sudden and unexpected blow from a far different quarter at once deprived the Hapsburg power of a great province and altered the complexion of the war. Advancing a claim to part of Silesia, which lay contiguous to his Brandenburg possessions, the dilettante king of Prussia threw off the mask which had concealed his true character,

The Silesian project 1740

pushed his armies into the rich valleys of the upper Oder; and, by the time the allies had made their way into Bohemia, the Prussians had overrun and held Silesia. Such were the circumstances under which this new, ambitious power now thrust itself into the European polity. Such was the "Silesian Project, which fulfilled all his political views—a means of acquiring reputation, of increasing the power of his state, and terminating the long-litigated question of the Cleves-Jülich succession." Such were the reasons advanced for his entry into the war by the young king himself. Behind them lay the opportunity, the weakness of the Austrian court, its bankruptcy, the inexperience of its princess, threatened on every side, the nearness and desirability of the territory, and Russia's momentary impotence. Not even Louis XIV, at the height of his power, proffered so cynical an excuse for his aggressions, since even the Grand Monarque had conceded his Chambers of Reunion to such public European sentiment on international law and morality as then existed.

The first Silesian War

Yet, daring and unscrupulous as it was, the Prussian king's exploit seemed likely to succeed, and so to justify itself to that school of thought which Frederick had himself attacked in his *Anti-Machiavel,* a school which recognizes no touchstone but material success, and no morality but that of might. The situation of the young archduchess seemed desperate. While the Prussians had gained Silesia at a blow, French and Bavarians invaded Bohemia and pressed forward into Austria itself. The Saxons captured Prague; Prussia, Bavaria, and Saxony signed a treaty for the partition of the Hapsburg possessions; and the Elector of Bavaria was not merely proclaimed Archduke of Austria, but, with the aid of his allies, was elected Emperor. Meanwhile, Sweden declared war on Russia and Spanish troops, in pursuance of their ruler's designs on Italy, landed in Tuscany, which was then virtually a part of the Austrian territories. Turn where she would, Maria Theresa found her lands invaded and her allies impotent.

1741

The revival of Austria

But if the invasion of Silesia had revealed the true character of the Prussian king, the desperate situation of the

CATHERINE II.

After the portrait by Shebanoff.

PETER THE GREAT.

From an engraving by Anderloni.

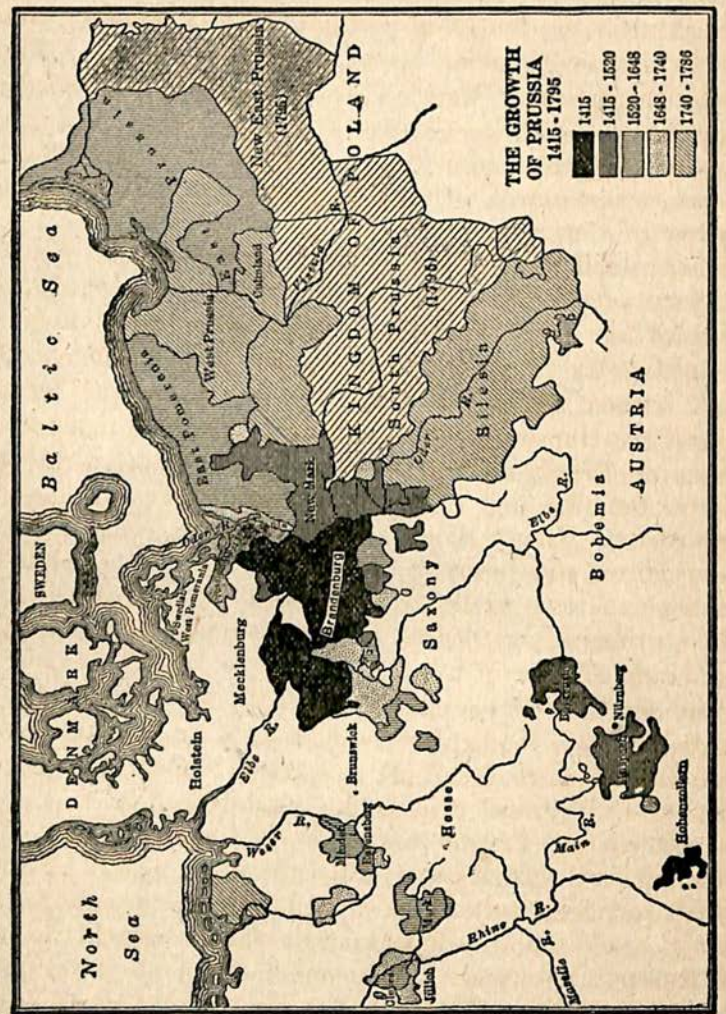
FREDERICK THE GREAT.

From an engraving by Cunejo, after the painting by Cunningham.

Hapsburg power threw the heroic character of the Austrian archduchess into high relief. While her armies made what headway they could against their numerous enemies, the young princess appealed in person to the Hungarian nobility; and their mythical reply, "Let us die for our king, Maria Theresa," became the rallying-cry for the Empire. June-Sept. 1741
England listened to her appeal for aid, and an English squadron compelled Spain to forego her dreams of a Spanish kingdom of Lombardy. A palace intrigue in Russia drove the pro-Prussian minister, Münnich, from power; and the ensuing revolution set on the throne the Czarina Elizabeth, Dec.
opposed at every point to Frederick's ambitious plans. To the standards of the archduchess were summoned not merely the forces of her own domains but those of the German states who still adhered to their allegiance from honor or from fear. And, on the very day that the Elector of Bavaria was 12 Feb. 1742
chosen Emperor, the Austrian city of Linz, where he had been proclaimed archduke six months before, was wrested from his grasp. With that the tide began to turn. Within a month the wild Croatian cavalry which formed the Aus- Feb. 1742
trian vanguard were in Munich. The Prussians lost Moravia and Olmütz; and though they were victorious at Chotusitz, it was apparent that the limit of their great adventure had been reached. As quickly and as easily as he had made and broken his earlier engagements, Frederick changed sides. By The Peace of Berlin 1742
the Peace of Breslau and Berlin he abandoned his allies; June-July
Silesia remained in his hands as the price of his withdrawal from the conflict; and the first Silesian War between Prussia and Austria came to an end. Augustus III of Saxony and Poland followed Frederick's example and made peace with Austria, and, within ten days, the king of Sardinia followed suit.

This was, indeed, far from concluding the great European conflict; for, relieved from pressure on the north, Maria Theresa was able to turn her full strength against her other foes. Here she was aided by other forces, as the negotiations of the diplomats brought readjustment of the European powers. Sweden gained peace from Russia at the price of

southern Finland; Sardinia secured from Austria concessions
1742 in Italy for her support; while, on Fleury's death, France allied herself with Spain and declared war upon Sardinia.



With this the course of England became clear. She was then carrying on a war with Spain; her king, George II, was Elector of Hanover; and, in the face of the Franco-Spanish alliance, and French advance in Germany, she signed a treaty

with Prussia to defend the electorate, despatched an army to the continent, and granted a subsidy to Austria. Meanwhile, the allies had been driven from Austrian territories. The French were beaten at Dettingen, the last battle at which an English sovereign fought in person. Bavaria was conquered, and its Elector-Emperor found himself a fugitive. Thus, fifteen months after Maria Theresa had been compelled to yield Silesia to Frederick, the Hapsburg power had risen from disaster which threatened to overwhelm it to a position whence it threatened, in turn, to become, in fact and name, mistress of Germany.

1743 The second Silesian War

It was small wonder that Frederick was alarmed. Fearful of a contingency which threatened not merely his newly won province but his very existence as an independent king, he strained every nerve to avert the impending danger. He tried, without success, to unite the princes of the Empire against the Hapsburg power. But he was able to secure the Union of Frankfort, in which the fugitive Emperor, the Elector Palatine, and Hesse-Cassel joined Prussia to demand that Austria restore Bavaria to Charles, the constitution to the Empire, and peace to Europe. Such a concession the Austrian court naturally refused, and Frederick, anticipating that contingency, turned again to arms, and so entered upon the second Silesian War.

1744

The new alliances

His desertion of his engagement with Austria and his re-entry into the conflict which had gone on in his absence between Hapsburg, Bourbon, and Hanover-England, brought further readjustment of alliances. Russia and Austria again grew friendly; Prussia and France joined hands against England and Austria; and, after the brief success of Frederick's surprise attack which carried his arms through Saxony and Bohemia, another kaleidoscopic change altered the face of Europe's alliances. The sudden death of the Elector-Emperor, Charles Albert of Bavaria, gave Austria opportunity to withdraw Bavaria from Franco-Prussian influence. The title of the late emperor was recognized, his son restored to his electoral title and domains; while he, in turn, allied himself with Austria, promising his vote to the Grand Duke

1745

Francis, Maria Theresa's husband, as Emperor, and his assent to the Pragmatic Sanction. Thus France and Prussia with Spain and Hesse-Cassel confronted an alliance of more than half the continent, England and Holland, Austria, Bavaria, Saxony, Sardinia, with lesser German states.

The war

Yet the contest was not as unequal as it seemed; for the allies developed no such commanders as the French Maréchal de Saxe, the Spaniard Gages, and Frederick himself. The Austro-Saxon treaty to partition Prussia was ineffective ere the ink was dry. In Germany the Prussian king counted three victories against the Austrians in six months; at Fontenoy, de Saxe defeated the English as the first incident of a great campaign. In Italy the Franco-Spanish troops, at the same time, conquered Lombardy; while Charles Emmanuel of Sardinia tried to make terms with France. In this crisis the Austrian court repeated its old tactics; and, by the Treaty of Dresden, confirmed Silesia to Frederick, and was again relieved from his attack. So ended the second Silesian War.

The Treaty of Dresden Dec. 25 1745

Meanwhile for three years more the conflict went on among Spain, France, Sardinia, and Austria in Italy; France, Austria, England, and Holland in the Netherlands; and France and England in the world outside. Despite the victories of Saxe in the Low Countries the tide turned against the French confronted by such powerful enemies. The Austrians and Sardinians reconquered Lombardy and invaded Provence; the efforts of the Young Pretender, Charles Edward, to raise rebellion in England failed; and when the Russians entered the war upon the side of Austria, the French position, save for their conquest of the Austrian Netherlands, seemed desperate. Negotiations begun at Breda were concluded at Aix-la-Chapelle, and brought to a close eight years of constant war, with inconclusive peace. The Prusso-Swedish treaty of mutual defense was finally confirmed, with Frederick's possession of Silesia. The Spanish heir received Parma, Piacenza, and Guastalla in Italy; Francis was recognized as Emperor; and, for the rest, all conquests were restored.

1745-8

1745-6

1748

The Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle 1748

Such were the circumstances under which Frederick the Great, as he came to be known, set Prussia among the first-rate European powers; and this, in the last resort, remained the chief result of this long, bloody war. From it Austria emerged far stronger than before; and France weaker. With its conclusion there began a series of administrative reforms in Prussia and especially in the Hapsburg domains. And with it, too, began the great design of Austria's new minister, Kaunitz, looking toward the recovery of Silesia and Frederick's humiliation, which made the years of peace only a truce between two periods of conflict.

The war beyond the sea

Yet there were many other circumstances and results of the entry of Frederick of Prussia into the European polity. Far beyond the boundaries of Europe itself the war had spread to the remotest confines of European influence; and while the continental powers had made the lands between the Vistula and the Rhine a battleground, the farthest bounds of their respective spheres of influence had felt the shock of arms. While Prussia and Austria were at grips only in Germany, English and French had fought across the world; and beside the emergence of the Prussian kingdom into Europe's affairs, may well be set the emergence of the British Empire into world politics. In particular those lands whose fortunes were destined to be so closely intertwined through the ensuing generation, India and North America, challenged the eminence even of Silesia as the center of future importance in Europe's affairs.

India—the Mohammedan states

This was the more true in that the circumstances of the great Indian peninsula at this moment offered a fertile field for the extension of European influence. The effects of the break-up of the Mogul Empire at the death of Aurungzebe a generation earlier had now had time to make themselves fully felt. Its viceroys had not only consolidated their power and established a group of virtually independent Mohammedan states, but about them had sprung up a circle of bitterly hostile Hindu principalities. Of the four great geographical divisions into which India, exclusive of the narrow coast regions and the Himalayas, may be said to fall—

the valley of the Ganges on the northeast, that of the Indus on the northwest, the huge triangular plateau of the Deccan on the south, and the hill districts between—the Mogul Empire had ruled the greater part. Far up the Ganges valley, on its tributary, the Jumna, stood its capital, Delhi. To the east, along the upper Ganges, lay the rich lands of the Nawab of Oudh, below them the fertile fields and the teeming population of the Nawab of Bengal, whose territories enveloped the English post of Calcutta; and far to the south, in the midst of the Deccan, the Nizam of Hyderabad maintained himself.

—the Hindu states

Such were the chief Mohammedan powers of the peninsula. But those of the Hindus were no less in number and importance. The lower reaches of the Indus were held by the principality of Scinde, which, from its position as a viceroyalty of the Mogul Empire, had now come to be a tributary of the rising power of the Persian Nadir Shah; while the upper region of the Punjab, or Five Rivers, whose junction formed the Indus, was becoming independent under a religious association, the so-called Sikhs. South of them, between Delhi and Scinde, lay the Rajputs, three strong and warlike tribes; and beyond them still, up and down the central part of northern India, were the Mahrattas owning the so-called Peishwa of Poona as the titular head of their loose federation. Beside their lands and those of Hyderabad, the northern Deccan held the smaller principalities of Orissa and Behar, while the lower third of that district was comprised in the state of Mysore, bounded on the east by the so-called Carnatic, under the Nawab of Arcot, whose lands surrounded the English post of Madras and the French at Pondicherry, and whose allegiance lay to the ruler of Mysore.

It was inevitable that among so many states, most of them but lately emerged from Mogul suzerainty, and ruled by ambitious and unscrupulous military leaders, the contest for supremacy or for extension of frontiers should be continuous and acute. It was no less inevitable that, with the outbreak of the wars of the Austrian Succession in Europe, the energies

of French and English alike should be directed toward the exploitation of such a situation for their own benefit. In this the English, with far more at stake than the French, were slow to enter, content to maintain, as best they might amid the confusion of the peninsula, the territory and the trade which they possessed.

Dupleix 1697-1763

But two circumstances soon made their passive position untenable. The first was the invasion of the Persians under Nadir Shah; which, in the year that England had come to blows with Spain, swept across northern India and sacked Delhi. The second was the appointment of Joseph Dupleix as governor-general in Pondicherry. If the one circumstance clearly revealed the collapse of the Mogul state and heralded the impending conquest of India by another great power, the other revealed the danger that this power might be France. To English eyes the advent of this capable antagonist presaged far more danger than the Persian hosts. Thus far there had been no question of the supremacy of the English company over the French. The one, having weathered the storms of the seventeenth century, had developed greatly in the preceding forty years; it had become, in a small way, a territorial and a military power. It had loaned money to the English government; while its rival, ill-supported and under-capitalized, had barely managed to maintain itself.

1739

But with the advent of a new French minister of finance, and of a governor who, through twenty years of experience in India, as member of the council and superintendent of Chandernagore, was wholly conversant with the affairs of the peninsula, all was changed. When the great European war-cloud burst, Dupleix, foreseeing the inevitable conflict and fired by the opportunity to extend French influence and his own, had hastened to fortify Pondicherry and negotiate with native princes. At the same time, feeling the necessity for forces to support his policy, he revived and extended the old plan of using native troops. An army was raised, drilled, organized, equipped, and officered by Europeans, and stiffened by French contingents, and these Sepoys, as they were

known, thenceforth proved themselves a powerful factor in eastern affairs.

America

Nor was the East alone in preparation for the great conflict then about to involve the whole European world. In two other quarters the struggle which centered in Germany had begun before the outbreak of hostilities on the continent, and it was now about to involve still another region in its bloody course. Even before Frederick had fallen on Silesia, England

1739-44

and Portugal had been at war with Spain. While the Prussians had pushed southward along the Oder, while French and Bavarians invaded Bohemia, Brazil and Argentine had contended for Uruguay, and English and Spanish colonists between Georgia and Florida had come to blows. The progress of the first Silesian War had been accompanied by Vernon's attacks on Porto Bello and Cartagena, and Anson's exploits in the Pacific. While Dupleix prepared his stroke against the English in India, Brazil had set the fortress of Rio Grande do Sul against Spanish aggression from the Argentine, and at the St. Lawrence mouth the frowning walls of Louisburg had been strengthened against the day when France and England should strive for mastery of the Atlantic coast. Thus, throughout the world, were laid the foundations for a tremendous conflict. And, as the second Silesian War drew to a close, two events, occurring almost simultaneously on opposite sides of the globe, brought into sharp relief the world-wide character of the Franco-English war, which began in the fourth year of the War of the Austrian Succession.

The war in India and America 1741

The first occurred in India. There, while the first phase of the European war was being developed, the designs of the French governor of the Isles of France and Bourbon, Labourdonnais, attracted the attention of the English government. An English fleet appeared off the Coromandel coast to destroy the French settlements in India; and only the support of

1745

the Carnatic ruler, the Nawab of Arcot, saved Pondicherry and Dupleix's designs from destruction. Four years later the fortress of Louisburg, which, strengthened through the years by French engineering skill and an expense of twenty million francs, threatened English supremacy on the Atlantic

coast, became the object of colonial attack. To its reduction England lent a fleet; the colonies contributed four thousand men; and a vigorous six weeks' siege gave Louisburg into English and colonial hands, in the same summer that Frederick's victories confirmed to him Silesia for the second time.

Such were the opening events of the world-war which paralleled the last three years of the War of the Austrian Succession, and, in a sense, formed part of the European conflict. Encouraged by the fall of Louisburg, the English colonists projected the reduction of all Canada. To counteract English naval supremacy in the East, the governor of the Isle of Bourbon, Labourdonnais, led a French squadron to the Coromandel coast; while to avenge the fall of Louisburg, 1746
the French government despatched a fleet under D'Anville. From this last the English colonies were saved by storm and pestilence to which its leader fell victim; but they gave up their design of conquering Canada. Their countrymen in India were not so fortunate. There the Nawab, failing to get from the Madras authorities the presents with which Dupleix had gained his favor, refused the protection he had granted to Pondicherry. Madras fell into French hands. Its English inhabitants, save a few brave spirits who found refuge in Fort St. David, twenty miles away, were taken prisoner, and the single fort which sheltered their more daring companions, remained the sole English post in southern India. Even that foothold was precarious. The French refused to give up Madras to the Nawab, beat off his force, and pushed forward to besiege Fort St. David. There only a quarrel between their leaders, with the arrival of an English fleet and Major Lawrence with four thousand troops, relieved the garrison from the fate of Madras.

To the conflict whose fortunes varied so widely at the extremities of empire, the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle gave pause. Madras was exchanged for Louisburg, and the fate of India, as that of Canada, was reserved for the future. Yet despite the inconclusive character of this phase of the war, the lines of later conflict were laid down. In India the English were awakened to the fact that the peninsula was

The Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle 1748

ripe for a new conqueror. The French activities had not merely shown the strength of a great European power, backed by a fleet and Sepoy troops, and exercising its diplomacy among native princes; but the necessity of following the same course if English status in the East was to be preserved. And if the landing of an army in India marked an epoch in her eastern affairs, the activity of her colonists in the West portended a new era in world politics. However negligible they appeared to European eyes, such events as the co-operation of colonial and English troops was an affair of no less consequence than the appearance of Russian forces on the Rhine; and the division of spheres of influence in North and South America was an event quite comparable to the concurrent rise of Prussia in the European scale.

The Diplomatic Revolution 1748-56

But while events at the extremity of the European world were thus unconsciously re-shaping the destinies of the powers involved, there was preparing in Europe itself a readjustment of alliances which was to revolutionize the political situation of the entire continent. Seldom has the history of international affairs revealed so remarkable a phenomenon as that series of treaties which established two great leagues preparing to plunge the world again into conflict. It had

1746

begun simply enough. Before the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, Maria Theresa concluded a treaty with Russia which brought

1750

the forces of Elizabeth into the war. England joined in; and Frederick, in reply, had come to an agreement with Sweden. After the peace this process was continued. The diplomacy of Kaunitz, seconded by the open contempt of Frederick for women in politics, drew the French king's mistress, the Marquise de Pompadour, to look with favor upon Austria. With this was perfected a scheme which, to Austrian eyes, promised to heal the long Hapsburg-Bourbon enmity, and enable Austria to avenge herself upon the Prussian king. Nor was this Diplomatic Revolution, as it was called, less remarkable for the circumstance that it was the alliance of three women against a man who despised them all.

The third Silesian War

But the fine-wrought schemes of European diplomats were scarcely in train before the action of men far beyond their

ken brought them to naught. The Russian treaty was hardly signed when French and English were at war again in India and contending for supremacy in North America. The logic of facts was irrefutable. Whatever George II's anxiety for his Hanoverian possessions, the fear of England for her position in North America and India was greater still. It was no longer possible, as it had been even a century before, for Europe to ignore colonial rivalries. These had become a part of the European system; and disturbance in the remotest regions now reacted decisively on the center of affairs. George II hastened to conclude a neutral agreement 1756
with Prussia; Kaunitz took advantage of the indignation at Versailles to sign a defensive treaty with France; and, in the final resolution of alliances, England and Prussia, with four lesser German powers, stood opposed to Austria, Russia, France, and the remaining states of the Empire. Such were the antagonists in the conflict which was to determine finally the possession of Silesia and the position of Prussia in Europe.

It was, indeed, to determine much more; for it was, in effect, a twofold duel. In Europe it was a struggle between Hapsburg and Hohenzollern to establish not merely the ownership of Silesia but their respective positions in Germany. In India and America the supremacy of France or England was now at stake.

One may not say that "black men fought each other on the coast of Coromandel, and red men scalped each other by the great lakes of North America" that Frederick "might rob a neighbor whom he had promised to defend"; nor yet that England was to try to "conquer America in Germany." Had England and France had no concern with the relations of Prussia and Austria, the Silesian question would none the less have plunged Germany into war. Had Frederick and Maria Theresa remained friends, the French and English in the Carnatic and the Ohio valley would still have drawn their governments into conflict. And it is a striking commentary on the altered importance of colonial affairs that a little-known governor of Pondicherry, Dupleix, an obscure clerk

of the East India Company, Robert Clive, and an unheard-of Virginian, George Washington, should at this juncture have become figures of no less importance in European destinies than the rulers who reckoned themselves the sole arbiters of those fortunes.

England and France in India 1748

The events which finally determined the status of England and France in the approaching conflict, almost in spite of themselves, were widely separated in distance and character. First in time, if not in importance, was the situation of affairs in India. There in the year of the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle the death of the Nizam ul Mulk, Subadhar or viceroy of the Deccan, had precipitated the first of those questions of disputed succession which were to form the entering wedge of European interference in Indian politics. Dupleix was quick to seize the opportunity, the more so in that a similar situation arose at the same moment in the Carnatic. Espousing the cause of the two pretenders, he supplied them with troops and a capable commander; and with this aid the Nawab of the Carnatic was defeated and killed and his capital occupied by his enemies. Despite English support, the rightful heir maintained himself with difficulty in Trichinopoly while the French candidate seized the royal power. In the following year the same policy compassed the death of the viceroy of the Deccan and the elevation of the French candidate to his place. In return Dupleix secured

1749

the government of a territory along the Coromandel coast but little smaller than France, the sole right of coinage in the Carnatic, and virtual dictation over the Nizam's policy. At once he directed all his strength against Trichinopoly, whose fall would give into his hands the rightful heir of the Carnatic, and enable him to throw all the power thus gained against the English.

From the apparent destruction which awaited it the Company was preserved by an extraordinary character. In the year that the war between England and France had begun

Clive 1725-74

there had arrived in Madras an English boy of nineteen, one Robert Clive, as a clerk or writer. Thence a year later, when the place was taken by the French, he had fled with

his fellows to Fort St. David, where, disgusted with the civil service, he became an ensign of foot, and gained some small distinction. Re-entering the civil department on the conclusion of the peace, he found, on his return from a visit to Bengal, that war had again broken out and that the French were besieging Trichinopoly. Putting himself at the head of five hundred men he threw himself into Arcot, and there 1751
held out for fifty days against ten thousand natives and French, until he was relieved by a Mahratta chief, employed to aid the heir to the Carnatic. Pursuing his besiegers, with the aid of Lawrence he relieved Trichinopoly. The French thereupon recognized the English candidate and the English claims in the Carnatic; and Dupleix, defeated in the ambitions which had so nearly given him preponderance in India, returned to France to die in poverty and disgrace.

Such was the first stage in the conflict for Indian supremacy; and had these circumstances alone filled the years of the Diplomatic Revolution, Anglo-French relations, however strained, might not have been broken. But what the Carnatic was to India, the Ohio valley had meanwhile become to America. Though the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle had restored Acadia to France, it had left a heritage of dispute over the boundaries of French and English possessions, which, within five years, brought the colonists again to blows. If the French claimed the Ohio region by virtue of discovery, the English regarded the territory as theirs by virtue of the original grants; and each side prepared for the maintenance of its claims in characteristic fashion. As the conflict in India wore to a close, France despatched a new governor, 1752
the Marquis Duquesne de Menneville, to Canada, with instructions to secure the communications between the St. Lawrence settlements and those on the lower Mississippi, by way of the Ohio. At the same time the chain of forts up the St. Lawrence from Quebec and Montreal to the Great Lakes was strengthened, and, on Duquesne's arrival, he hastened to anticipate the danger of an English advance by a line of fortified posts from Niagara to the junction of the Allegheny and Monongahela rivers.

England and France in America

On their part the English continued their old policy, in sharp distinction from that of France. Scarcely was the
1749 Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle signed and Louisburg returned to France, when there arrived in Nova Scotia more than two thousand emigrants, discharged soldiers and sailors, with workmen and their families to establish a new settlement; and there, at Chebucto, now re-named Halifax, was begun a town and a fortress to challenge the supremacy of Louisburg. At
1750 the same time the Virginia colonists had hastened to organize a corporation to exploit the chief potential source of wealth in the new world, the great forest tracts stretching westward from the Alleghenies. This so-called Ohio Company, whose establishment gave no less offense to the French than the foundation of Georgia had given to the Spaniards a dozen years before, now began to extend its operations into the lands debatable. The conflict arising from the Anglo-French rivalry was not long delayed. The governor of Virginia despatched a young planter who had had experience in the field, George Washington, to protest against the French advance; and, finding his mission unsuccessful, sent him with
1754 two hundred frontiersmen to occupy the French objective, the forks of the Ohio. A sharp clash ensued between the French vanguard and Washington's command. The latter were victorious, but the advance of the main body of the French made their position untenable; and, at the moment that a French emissary landed in Coromandel to complete the negotiations between his government and the English authorities in India, the French secured the coveted strategic point by the construction of Fort Duquesne.

With this obscure skirmish in the wilds of the Ohio, which began the most far-reaching war the world had yet seen, and introduced to European eyes the man who twenty years later was to become a commanding figure in the European world, the English were roused to action. A conference of colonial representatives was held at Albany to confer with the Six Nations, and to concert measures of defense against the French peril. Upon the suggestion of a member from Pennsylvania of much fame thereafter, one Benjamin Frank-

lin, the Albany congress further signalized the occasion by drawing up a tentative, though, as it proved, an abortive plan of union. At the same time the English government 1754-5
despatched General Braddock with two regiments of regulars to Virginia to co-operate with the colonists. France countered this move by sending out a like force under General Dieskau, with the new governor Vaudreuil, and thus equipped, each side began active hostilities.

In America the English planned a triple attack. To Brad- —America
dock was intrusted the reduction of Fort Duquesne; to the Indian commissioner in New York, Johnson, the seizure of Crown Point on Lake Champlain; to the governor of Massachusetts, Shirley, the capture of Fort Niagara; while a combined fleet and land force was to operate against Acadia and Louisburg. But Braddock, unaccustomed to border war, was ambushed, defeated, and killed in his attempt against 1755-6
Duquesne, and his force was preserved from destruction only by the abilities and exertions of Washington and his frontiersmen. On the other hand, Johnson drove back Dieskau, and the English quickly overran Acadia and deported its inhabitants. The new French commander, Montcalm, captured Fort George and Fort Oswego, and parried the English blow, secured his front and saved Niagara and Crown Point for the time being from his enemies. Immediately each side began to fortify. The French strengthened Crown Point and began a new fortress at Ticonderoga on Lake George; while to oppose them, the English built forts William and Henry to protect New England and New York along that important line of communication which had become one of the strategic points of the world. Not content with this, each extended its lines westward, the English in Georgia and Carolina as far as Tennessee, the French as far as Illinois, and the whole eastern portion of North America thus became a field of conflict.

In January, 1756, England concluded a treaty of neu- The Seven Years' War
trality with Prussia which broke her Russian engagements. In May, France signed with Austria the defensive alliance 1756-63
which grew from this reversal of English policy. In June,

England and France were at war in Europe; and in August, Frederick, advised of his antagonists' designs, invaded Saxony, took Dresden, and poured his troops across the Bohemian frontier to strike at Austria before the coalitions formed to crush him could unite their forces. In those same months the Earl of Loudon had been despatched to the command of English armies in America; and the Marquis de Montcalm to lead the French in Canada. At the same moment that the Prussian king invaded Saxony, and Montcalm had captured the English fort of Oswego which guarded Lake On-
1756 tario, in India, news reached Madras that Suraj ud Dowlah, Nawab of Bengal, had seized Calcuttta, crowded a hundred and forty English, whom he found there, into a single dungeon, the Black Hole of Calcutta, whence the next morning scarce twenty emerged alive; garrisoned the city with his troops, and decreed that no Englishman thenceforth should enter his domains. In such wise began the Seven Years' War, greatest and last of the dynastic-colonial conflicts in which Europe was engaged.

—India 1756 Meanwhile, the struggle was extended to the sea and India. The French capture of Minorca was balanced by English success against Dominica. Clive, who had been hurriedly despatched by the English government as lieutenant-colonel, co-operated with Admiral Watson's fleet, engaged in suppressing piracy in the Indian seas, to retake Calcutta. They drove the French from their Bengalese post of Chandernagore; thus securing English power in the Ganges delta.

—Europe At the same time France, Russia, Austria, Sweden, and the Empire threw themselves on Prussia, England, and their German allies, at first with every prospect of success. The second twelvemonth of the great war increased that confidence. Frederick's invasion of Bohemia, despite initial victory, was turned to a retreat by Austrian advance. On the
1757 one side the Russians crushed his army at Gross Jägerndorf; on the other, the French defeated his allies at Hastenbeck; and only his victory over the Imperialists and his repulse of the Austrians held his enemies in check. Abroad, Montcalm took Forts William and Henry and opened the way to

the Hudson; while a French fleet, aided by dissensions between the colonists and their governors, paralyzed Anglo-colonial activities.

Only in India, the English cause, sustained by Clive's genius, maintained itself. There a conspiracy against Suraj ud Dowlah, the Nawab of Bengal, led to his betrayal and defeat in the decisive battle of Plassey. This was followed by his capture and execution; his place was filled by the English candidate, Mir Jafir; the Company was granted huge concessions by the puppet viceroy, including the so-called *zemindar* or landlord rights over the rich Ganges delta from Calcutta to the sea. Clive gained corresponding honors and rewards; and English dominion in Bengal was finally assured. Thus, after two years of war, save for Indian success, the scale still balanced against the Anglo-Prussian alliance.

—India

1757

But at this moment a new force appeared in European politics, with the accession of the English secretary of state, William Pitt, to full power in the conduct of the war. Grandson of a famous early governor of Madras, educated partly at Eton and Oxford, partly by travel on the continent, serving for a time as cornet of horse, he had entered Parliament, married an heiress of the great Whig family of Grenville, and, joining the opponents of Walpole, had come into office on the fall of that minister. His eloquence, his courage, his genius for popular appeal, his extraordinary self-confidence, his ability to conceive wide plans of conquest and to choose able commanders to form and carry out far-reaching combinations, were soon evident as determining factors in the great conflict. "I am convinced," he said, "that I can save England and that no one else can." "England has labored long," wrote Frederick the Great, "but she has at last brought forth a man."

Pitt 1708-78

The Prussian king had reason to rejoice. Scarcely was Pitt in control when England granted him an annual subsidy which enabled his country to recruit her far-spent forces; while he was relieved from the task of defending western Germany against the French by the formation of an Anglo-Hanoverian army. At the same time Clive was appointed

The fall of New France

governor of Bengal and steps were taken to oppose the French advance in North America. The colonies were called upon for twenty thousand men and were reinforced by twelve thousand troops and a fleet from England. The effect was soon apparent. Though Montcalm was able to repulse the English from Ticonderoga, Fort Frontenac fell into their hands and with it the control of the Lakes. Forbes captured
1758 Fort Duquesne, re-named Pittsburg. Finally, after two months of resistance, the great fortress of Louisburg succumbed again to the joint attack of English and colonial forces, and with its fall the control of the Canadian maritime provinces, Cape Breton, and Prince Edward Island passed into English hands. Meanwhile, upon the continent, defeating the Russians and in turn defeated by the Austrians, the Prussian king maintained himself in Saxony and Silesia.

Such was the first result of the revivified Anglo-Prussian activities. More was to come. Following up their success in
1759 America, the English captured, almost at the same moment, Fort Niagara, last of the French strongholds on the eastern great lakes, and Ticonderoga, which dominated the road along Lake George and Lake Champlain. French power was now hemmed in its strongholds of Montreal and Quebec. Against the latter, Major General Wolfe directed his attack, and, finding his way by night up the steep cliff on which the city stands, a final engagement on the Plains of Abraham beat down the last resistance of the French. His death at the moment of the victory was more than balanced by the fall of his great antagonist, for with Montcalm's departure
1760 French resistance collapsed. Quebec surrendered, and, within a year all Canada, including Montreal, came into English hands. Scarcely had the news from Quebec reached England when Hawke's naval victory of Quiberon Bay rendered France all but helpless on the sea.

English success in India

There was one further triumph of the year of victories. With the defeat of the Dutch allies of the French in India, the English turned against their greater antagonist. What Montcalm was to French North America, Lally de Tollendal was to

French India. Despatched to Pondicherry, he had revived the energies of Dupleix's old system, reorganized its troops, and hastened to besiege Trichinopoly. Against him Clive's chief subordinate, Colonel Coote, hastened from Madras, and 1760
took Wandewash, which Lally hurried to besiege. There, four months after the fall of Quebec, the English, sallying from the town, drove Lally's army from its intrenchments, and sealed the fate of France in India. The resulting capture of Arcot, and the siege and capture of Pondicherry within a twelvemonth completed their destruction. Thus, at the same moment that Canada passed to British hands, the English became the dominant European power in the Indian peninsula.

Meanwhile, the struggle on the continent had continued with varying fortunes. On the west, at the same moment that the outer lines of French resistance in America were being forced, the Anglo-German army overthrew the French at Minden, while within a fortnight Frederick himself suffered 1759
his heaviest reverse at Kunersdorf from Austro-Russian troops. The following year, while England was busy securing her authority in Canada and in India, the victories of Liegnitz and Torgau once more turned the balance in favor of Fred- 1760
erick despite the Russian occupation of his capital.

The war in Europe

But at this juncture another change in English politics altered the fortunes of the combatants. At the moment the Russians occupied Berlin, George II died and was succeeded by his grandson, George III. With that began a revolution in English affairs. Supporting and supported by the Whigs, George II had favored the Prussian alliance and the war. His son, opposed at nearly every point to his father, had died, and the young prince who now came to the throne, influenced by the family feud, had been brought up under the domination of the rival Tory school. His strong if narrow intelligence, trained in the doctrines of royal supremacy, reinforced by his own skill in politics and the slow-rising antagonism to a war which England, with all her victories, had found a huge burden on her resources, turned naturally to peace. In this he was supported by the more powerful

George III 1760-1820

of the Whig nobility who now controlled the cabinet, and Pitt's eloquence and determination beat in vain upon the resolution of the interests determined to conclude the long
1761 conflict. The Prussian subsidy was stopped, the war languished, till a twelvemonth saw no more activity than the capture of two fortresses by Frederick's enemies.

The Treaty of St. Petersburg 1762

The situation of the Prussian king was now all but desperate. His armies were reduced by incessant conflict, the national morale depressed by the loss of the capital, the finances disorganized by failure of the English subsidy; and, deprived of support on nearly every side, Frederick was saved from destruction only by another turn of fortune's wheel. The death of the Czarina Elizabeth, at the beginning of the sixth year of the war, brought to the head of Russian affairs Peter III, an admirer of Frederick. Almost at once, he signed a truce which was transformed into the Treaty of St. Petersburg. Peace with Sweden followed, and, though the deposition of Peter placed Catherine II on the Russian throne, and deprived Prussia of the assistance Peter III had given, Russia virtually retired from the war, and Frederick, thus relieved of pressure from that side, was able again to defeat the Austrians.

The Peace of Hubertsburg and Paris 1763

Meanwhile, England and France had slowly come to terms. Pitt, driven from office by the cabinet's refusal to enter war with Spain, found his policy justified by a secret agreement between the branches of the Bourbon house which now brought Spain into the war. But she entered only into a heritage of disaster. Relieved of French antagonism in the east and west, flushed with her recent victories, and strong in the power and the prestige which success had brought,
1761-2 the onward rush of England's power was not to be denied. The capture of Canada had been followed by the occupation of the French West Indies. Anglo-colonial troops took Martinique, Granada, St. Lucia, St. Vincent, and the smaller islands. Turning thence against the Spanish power, within six months Havana was in their hands and, on the other side of the world, four months later, Manila was taken by a British fleet. Before the news of that crowning success

reached Europe, the preliminaries of peace had been agreed upon between England and France at Fontainebleau; and six months later, the Peace of Paris brought the Anglo-French-Spanish conflict to an end. In the same week the treaties of Hubertsburg closed the long war between the eastern powers, and the European world found itself again at peace.

Its results —in Europe

Seldom has any war produced more far-reaching effect on European affairs. On the continent itself, the territorial changes were not remarkable, if one considers the magnitude of the struggle and the number of interests involved. Minorca was exchanged for Belle Isle, and Silesia remained in Frederick's iron grasp, whence seven years of conflict had been unable to wrest it. But if that conquered province was of no great extent when measured beside the forces involved in its possession, its value to Prussia was not to be estimated in terms of area or population. It did more than add to Frederick's kingdom the upper reaches of the Oder; it became a symbol of Prussia's title to be ranked among the first-rate powers of the continent. The most that the house of Hapsburg could set against its loss was Frederick's vote for the Archduke Joseph for the title of King of Rome, which was the stepping-stone to that of Emperor; and to offset this shadowy honor, Austria was forced to recognize a rival in the leadership of Germany.

—oversea

But the changing ownership of Silesia, even the recognition of Prussia's position in European polity, paled before the changes wrought in colonial affairs by the peace which forms one of the great landmarks in the history of the extra-European world. To the followers of Pitt, indeed, the treaties into which England entered seemed no less humiliating than the Treaty of Utrecht half a century before, whether they considered the conquests she had made, the territory she then held, or her capacity to maintain the position she had won. There was on the face of affairs, indeed, some basis for such a feeling. In return for the cession of Florida, England restored Havana and Manila to Spain; in Africa, for Senegal she gave up Goree to France; in India, she handed

back her conquests with virtually no conditions; in the West Indies, which lay at her mercy, she retained only Tobago, Dominica, St. Vincent, and Grenada.

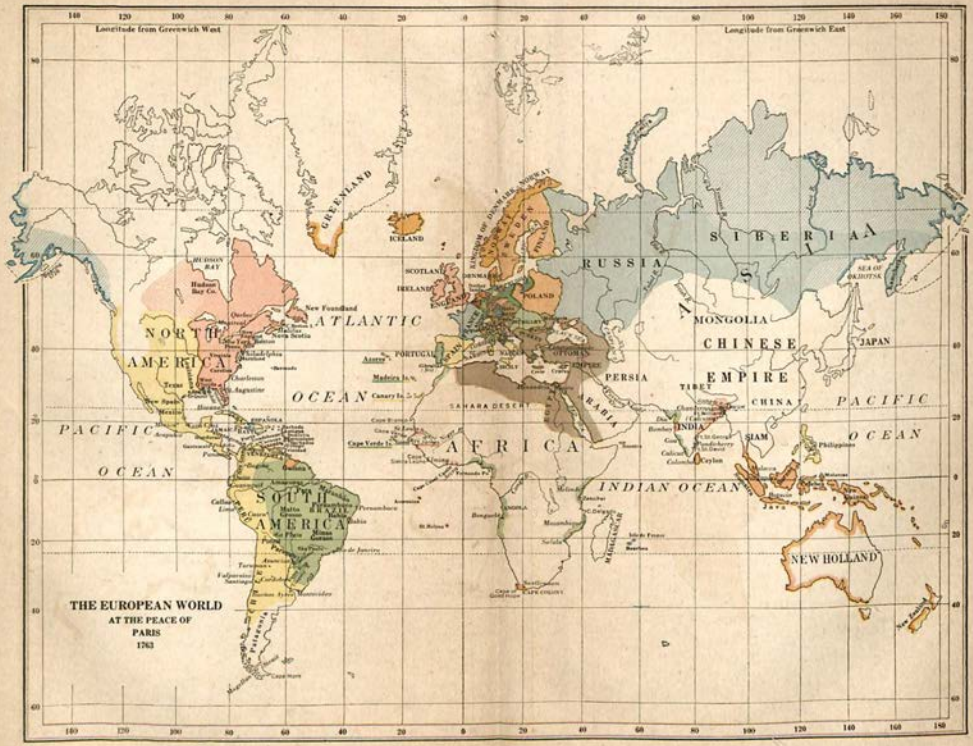
The position of England

But despite what Pitt and his party regarded as criminal weakness, England secured her two great objects in the war. The first was her supremacy in India, the second was undisputed possession of the eastern part of North America. France regained, indeed, her scattered Indian posts, but it was a barren gift. Shorn at once of their prestige and power, Pondicherry and its dependencies sank to the status of Goa and Diu, and French authority in the peninsula thenceforth rivaled in impotence that of Portugal. Whatever the future of Indian empire, England was prepared to bid for the domination of the peninsula.

Louisiana

Nor was her position in America less firmly established by the peace. To Spain, in recompense for her loss of Florida, France ceded Louisiana—that huge territory which, stretching from New Orleans to the unknown headwaters of the Missouri and its confluents, embraced the greater part of the vast plains between the Mississippi and the Rocky Mountains, an empire a fourth as large as Europe. Joined to her other possessions, Spain thus obtained all but undisputed possession of western North America, from Mexico to the Arctic, from the Mississippi to the Pacific.

But if Spain now held title to two-thirds of the continent, the remaining third which fell into English hands comprised the land then the most valuable in all the world for European settlement. From Key West to Hudson's Bay, England now held the coast line. From the Atlantic to the Mississippi, the great valleys of the St. Lawrence and the Ohio, and the lands about the Great Lakes, added to the possesssion of her own colonies, gave her command of all but unlimited areas for colonization. Thence she could draw those products of forests, farms, and fisheries, invaluable to any island nation like that of the English, dependent for its growth on raw products for its expanding manufactures, on food for its people, and on markets for its goods. What was, perhaps, still more important was the triumph of the British West Indian sugar-


Longitude from Greenwich West
Longitude from Greenwich East
GREENLAND
ICELAND
HUDSON BAY
Hudson Bay Co.
NORTH AMERICA
New Foundland
ATLANTIC OCEAN
SCOTLAND
IRELAND
ENGLAND
KINGDOM OF DENMARK & NORWAY
SWEDEN
POLAND
RUSSIA
SIBERIA
SEA OF OKHOTSK
MONGOLIA
CHINESE EMPIRE
JAPAN
PACIFIC OCEAN
PORTUGAL
Azores
Madeira Is.
Canary Is.
OTTOMAN EMPIRE
PERSIA
TIBET
CHINA
INDIA
SIAM
Philippines
Ceylon
SAHARA DESERT
BARBARY
AFRICA
Cape Verde Is.
Cape of Good Hope
CAPE COLONY
INDIAN OCEAN
Mozambique
MADAGASCAR
SOUTH AMERICA
PATAGONIA
NEW HOLLAND
THE EUROPEAN WORLD
AT THE PEACE OF
PARIS
1763

planting interest in this great settlement, which was not inaptly called the Sugar Peace. By it their monopoly was virtually secured within the British Empire and their control of the North American market assured. The northern colonists were thus restricted to the British West Indies for sugar, as they were to India for tea, and to England for manufactured articles. The exchange of Canada for Great Britain's conquests in the West Indies had obvious advantages. It eliminated the dangers which had long threatened the northern frontier from French and Indian attack; it opened a vast territory and trade to British enterprise; it deprived the natives of their chief support against English advance to the west. At the same time it confirmed the West Indian planters in their monopoly, which would have been seriously impaired by the introduction of competition from the other islands or the extension of the sugar industry to wider areas. But the limitations thus placed upon the northern colonies planted the seeds of deep and bitter discontent, and it is questionable whether it would not have been wiser for England to keep her West Indian gains and antagonize the planting interest. It is perhaps too much to say that the disturbances which soon broke out in the thirteen original English colonies in North America are directly traceable to the Peace of Paris. Yet it is unquestionably true that the limitations then imposed upon the northern colonists by the selfish policy of the planters helped to fan that discontent with British administration which found more forcible expression in the later trouble over tea. Sugar played but little part in the future discussions, but it deserves its place beside tea in any account of the disagreements which arose out of the great plan of a self-contained and self-supporting empire which now took form in English policy. But with all this, great as were England's concessions, her gains were greater still; and loud were the clamors for continuance of the war. The fullness of conquest, the interruption of trade, and, above all, the huge and growing burden of expense, drowned the clamor. The fall of Pitt, indeed, deprived her of the services of a great minister; but, as events were to prove, his work was

done. For the great problems of readjustment and reorganization his genius was ill-suited; and the hero who had ridden the whirlwind and directed the storm found in his popularity only the means to embarrass a government unable to replace him with a peace minister of equal gifts.

CHAPTER XXXIII

THE AGE OF VOLTAIRE AND THE PHILOSOPHERS

THE two decades of world war which resulted from the ambitions of Frederick the Great are memorable in history for more than the far-spreading conflict which began with his attack upon the Hapsburg dominions. In the career and character of the Prussian king, as in the activities of Louis XIV, appeared the apotheosis of royal and dynastic interest, which, associating itself with the principle of nationality, had found in that deeper and more enduring force the support necessary to achieve its aims. There was, indeed, as the future was to prove, no necessary connection between these two great elements; nor were the peoples which were thus enlisted in the cause of ruling houses through the appeal to their national aspirations, to remain forever bound to the fortunes of those families which had seized upon the national spirit to achieve their own aggrandizement. Even at the moment that the Prussian king planned and executed his great designs against the peace and the balance of power on the continent, there was prepared in the hands of the so-called philosophers a movement which was destined to be the principal antagonist of the spirit and practices of which Frederick was the greatest exponent. And even while he, his allies, and his enemies fought for the domination of the European world, there was being developed in lands beyond the sea a society which was, within a brief generation, to upset the whole system of political theory and practice so carefully prepared.

The philosophers

Had the peoples of Europe during the Age of Frederick the Great had no other concern than armed conflict, the years which saw Prussia attain the rank of a first-rate power, and

England secure the primacy of the colonial world, would remain one of the great epochs of European history. But this was far from the fact. At the same time that the political balance of the world was thus readjusted, an advance along new lines of thought and practice in nearly every department of human activity proclaimed the middle decades of the eighteenth century the dawn of a new era in human affairs. If empire-builders like Clive and Pitt laid the foundations for world-wide English dominion, if a monarch like Frederick the Great altered the balance of European polity, thinkers and writers like Montesquieu and Rousseau prepared a new basis for men's conceptions of society and government. Diderot and his associates of the *Encyclopédie* established new canons of knowledge and taste. Quesnay and the French Physiocrats introduced a new economy; and a long list of inventors, discoverers, and scientists pushed back the bounds thus far set to man's knowledge. If this was the Age of Frederick the Great, it was no less the Age of Voltaire; and beside the victories of Anglo-Prussian arms may well be set those triumphs of the mind through which even the changes in political boundaries scarcely kept pace with the emancipation of the intellect.

Montesquieu 1689-1755

At the moment that Europe signed the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, two events, destined to be of far greater effect than the treaty which then absorbed the men of politics, took place within the world of letters. The first was the appearance of a work entitled *L'Esprit des Lois,* from the pen of

1748

Charles Louis de Secondat, Baron de la Brède et Montesquieu, by which last name he is most generally known. Inspired and informed by long experience and wide reading, its brilliant style gave to this exposition of government and law a wide audience and still wider influence. Basing himself on the doctrine that government and law should accord with the character and circumstances of the people which they rule, he declared that the "conjunction of wills of individuals constitutes a state." However modified and disguised, this new expression of that political philosophy which was a development of Locke's theories, inevitably strengthened doc-

VOLTAIRE.

From a portrait by Largillière.

trines of popular sovereignty against the absolutist school. A rational reformer, moderate even to timidity, his conclusions based on reason and investigation as against authority, Montesquieu became one of the founders of modern political science, and, as it was to prove, despite his own disclaimer, the prophet of a new order.

The Physiocrats

At the same time the allied field of economic thought felt a fresh impulse. Against the mercantilist school which held that a nation's wealth depended on its store of precious metals and a balance of trade in its favor, the Physiocrats, headed by Cantillon, Quesnay, and Vincent, laid stress on agriculture and the freedom of commerce. "Laissez faire" took its place among the shibboleths of the rising science of political economy, with Quesnay's dictum that every man should be free to cultivate whatever his interest, means, and circumstances made most profitable. Such was the economic protest against authority, reverting, like that of Montesquieu, to the "order of nature" in its attack upon restriction and privilege. With all its fallacies it was a powerful weapon against the restrictive doctrines of mercantilism. For it emphasized the "productive" labors which added to the store of raw materials, and so tended to elevate agriculture; and while it depreciated the "sterile" activities of commerce and manufacturing, it pleaded for that "jus naturæ" which should emancipate industry from the bonds which had so long hampered its progress.

Rousseau 1712-78

What Montesquieu was to law and government, what the Physiocrats were to political economy, the writings of Jean Jacques Rousseau were to society. In the decade preceding the Peace of Paris, this strange, wandering genius formulated his philosophy in a series of extraordinary books which ranged from the *Confessions* of his ill-regulated life, through disquisitions on the *Inequality of Men,* and tractates on education, to his crowning work, the *Contrat Social.* Through all his writing ran the strain that was inspiring men in other fields, "return to nature." Man, born free, he saw about him everywhere in chains, to custom, to convention, above all, to government; and he protested against all the artificialities

1762

by which men were constrained, in home life as in artistic taste, in education as in government. Seeking the cause of this enslavement to authority, he strove to reconstruct the origins of society and the state with his theory of a primitive social control, "which, hardening with time, had ceased to be a compact among individuals but had become a tyranny which crushed out liberty and equality." Wild, sentimental, and extravagant, his doctrines touched a class but little moved by the more serious philosophies. Influenced by his rhetoric, children were released from the absurd conventions which made them old before their time; court and royalty played at shepherd's life; painters, like gardeners, took nature as their model; and life, like education, felt the quickening impulse of a genius which, ignorant of government and society alike, managed to revolutionize them both.

Diderot and the Encyclopedists

Such were the three great forces in this period which strove against intrenched formal authority. To them were added two more of no less consequence. At the same time that the new knowledge and spirit discovered fresh fields for exercise of man's intelligence, another influence was busy mapping and organizing the conquest. This was the famous *Encyclopédie* of Diderot and his associates. Projected in the year 1748-72 which saw the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle and the appearance of the *Spirit of the Laws,* volume by volume through two decades, this monumental work brought to men's hands the principal results of the intellectual progress of the times. To his assistance Diderot summoned the leaders of French thought, the ablest of her administrators, Turgot, the mathematician, d'Alembert, the physiocrat, Quesnay, and the so-called philosophers, Rousseau, Montesquieu, and Voltaire. His work was opposed by the clergy, especially the Jesuits. It was officially repressed by the authorities, who privately, none the less, protected its promoters and connived at its appearance; and it became, in consequence, the most important publication of its kind in history, no less remarkable in the political than in the literary world. Striving to create and guide opinion as well as to impart knowledge, it based its whole existence on reason and investigation. Its pages echoed

JEAN JACQUES ROUSSEAU.

From an engraving by J. E. Nochez, after A. Ramsay.

the great conflict of ideas then convulsing the European world; and, translated into nearly every European tongue, it carried everywhere the doctrines of that school whose thought made Paris the intellectual capital of the continent.

The triumph of Voltaire 1748-78

Nor was this all of this great renaissance in social and political thought. At the same time that Diderot, with his wide range of learning and his profound interest in the individual man, instructed and illuminated Europe no less by his reflective and critical essays than by the direction of the work of his colleagues on the *Encyclopédie,* the star of Voltaire was rising to the zenith of its ascendancy. For him the tide of fortune had now turned. He was chosen to the French Academy, given a post at court, and summoned to be the guest of Frederick the Great at Berlin. He finally took up his residence in Switzerland and devoted himself wholly to literature. There, on his estate of Ferney, as a citizen of Europe he was visited by half the notables of the continent, seeking advice, inspiration, or the gratification of their curiosity. Remaining a prodigy he became a sage; and grew to a stature which made him "less a man than a movement like the Renaissance or Reformation," as his penetrating satire and his destructive criticism prepared the way for the constructive work of his great contemporaries and successors.

Buffon 1707-88

Such were the principal influences which remodeled European thought during the momentous years of continental and colonial wars. Nor were the achievements of French intellect, which rose to eminence as the political power of the state declined, confined to literature and politics. In the same twelvemonth which saw the appearance of the *Spirit of the Laws* and the prospectus of the *Encyclopédie,* was published the first volume of the *Natural History* of George Leclerc, Comte de Buffon. This, completed more than fifty years later, filled the same place in the realm of natural science as Diderot's encyclopedia in the world of letters and affairs. Too vast to be in all parts accurate, hasty in generalization, not seldom ornate to the point of turgidity in style, his work was of profound importance in two ways. It in-

1749

spired a widespread attention to nature, and it laid down the proper principle of investigation, pointing out that "the condition of the globe is the result of a succession of changes." With this premise he drew attention to "the phenomena by which these changes can be unraveled." In this he not merely laid the foundations for that doctrine of evolution which later generations were to erect into the chief principle of their scientific creed, but began the serious study of geology. Here Buffon was but the most conspicuous of a great school then busied in exploring the secrets of the universe.

d'Alembert 1717-83

The mathematical and physical researches of d'Alembert revealed new laws governing solid and liquid bodies, and simplified the solution of dynamic problems by establishing the principle which still perpetuates his name among physicists. His study of the air in motion led to his theory of wind. His solution of the mystery of the precession of the equinoxes and of planetary perturbations, no less than his contributions to the history of science and to its philosophy, spread his fame throughout the continent. And however little his name may be remembered by a generation which owes so much to his talents, it is significant of the interest of his time in such matters that he was invited by Frederick the Great to settle in Berlin, and by Catherine of Russia to become the tutor to her son.

Franklin 1706-90

But if in d'Alembert many divergent streams of European science, politics, and even theology were joined, to these the career of the American Franklin added another element, that of the contribution of the extra-European world to the progress of society and knowledge. With the appearance in the English *Gentleman's Magazine* of the so-called "Philadelphia experiments," by which the identity of lightning and electricity was confirmed, there was brought to European notice not merely a tremendous and far-reaching contribution to its knowledge, but the extraordinary and characteristic figure of the colonial scientist-publicist. In his native land he had already achieved a conspicuous position as printer, postmaster, diplomat, and public benefactor. He was presently to rise to world-wide eminence in fields widely different from

the experiments which first brought him an invitation to the court of France. For his long efforts to unite the English colonies in opposition to the mother country led to political activities which were to bring him again into European view as the greatest of diplomats yet bred outside of Europe.

Beside these more conspicuous figures now taking their place among the leaders of the world of thought, labored a host of other investigators in whose hands the foundations of knowledge, and presently of practice, were wholly revolutionized. Linnæus, with his establishment of systematic botany; Condillac, the founder of the modern school of logic and psychology,—as opposed to the so-called "innate ideas" of Descartes and Spinoza—and a contributor to the young science of economics; Hunter, who from his practice as a surgeon in London set medical education on a new plane; Celsius, Fahrenheit, and Réaumur, who first established "degrees" of heat on the thermometer, were but a few of the names which illuminated the eighteenth century scientific renaissance. Yet a mere catalogue of names and achievements, however long, but feebly represents the progress of Europe in this period. More powerful than any personality were the movements and the institutions to which these men of genius gave rise.

Galleries, museums, and academies

It is impossible to estimate the force of the principles of rationalism vitalized by Voltaire and his followers; the influence of Montesquieu on politics and administration, of Diderot on taste and knowledge, of Rousseau on society, of the Physiocrats on economic thought and practice. It is only possible to say that these revolutionized continental thought and laid the foundations for still more revolutionary practice. But we may trace the tendency of the times concretely in the establishment of institutions. In London the government founded the British Museum on the collections of Sir Hans Sloane; while under the inspiration of Hunter, the London School of Surgery closely followed the beginning of a like school in Paris. In Dresden the splendid picture-gallery of Augustus I was increased and became the basis of an Academy of Arts, which, with the development of

1753

Munich along the same lines, made Saxony and Bavaria the artistic centers of Germany.

1741 These activities were not confined to the west. Under Linnæus's inspiration the Stockholm Academy came into existence. The Prussian king pensioned d'Alembert and induced a visit of Voltaire to Berlin which begat a quarrel that amused all Europe. Above all, in Russia, the patronage of the Czarina Elizabeth enabled her "minister of literature and the arts" to found the first Russian university at Moscow,

1757 and the St. Petersburg Academy of the Fine Arts. At the same time the erection of the Winter Palace, the Russian Versailles, typified the rising power of her empire and its introduction into the European circle of intellectual and artistic as well as political interests. To these were added an invitation to Diderot, who, for a time, adorned the Russian capital with his genius; and the foundation of the picture gallery of the Hermitage, which sheltered some of the greatest triumphs of European painters, and further cemented the connection between the culture of Russia and that of her western neighbors.

Education In no small degree the development of so many intellectual forces had its effect upon education. That department of human activity had suffered as well as gained from the Renaissance and the Reformation. The former had made a cult of classicism and produced a scholastic humanism. The latter, though it had led to the foundation of many institutions of learning, and, by its reflex action, produced the best schoolmasters in Europe, the Jesuits, had not lessened the tendency to make the school a part of the theological propaganda. It had destroyed many of the older seats of learning, and the wars which accompanied and followed it had aided in the destruction. It was not till toward the close of the seventeenth century that the reviving influence of science began to make head against these many obstacles, the chief of which was neither poverty nor doctrine but the idea that these institutions were cisterns in which learning was stored and whence it could be drawn, not fountains whence new streams of knowledge took their rise. The rise of the acade-

mies testified to the desire for such institutions as would devote their efforts to the increase of human acquirements; but it was not until the work of Newton at Cambridge and the foundation of Halle and Göttingen at the end of the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth century that this idea began to penetrate the educational world. Moreover, such education as there was had tended to remain an aristocratic monopoly. It had created schools for gentlemen like the German Ritterschule rather than provided educational facilities for the poor. But this now began to change, and though it was another century before popular education in the modern sense began to make headway, though even the French philosophers aimed only at the education of the few, there was already stirring that attention to the common man which considered, among other things, the possibility of his having a mind capable and worthy of cultivation.

China

Perhaps no single circumstance more fully illustrates this widening interest in the finer aspects of civilization than the advance of that art which stands midway between the artistic and the utilitarian—the manufacture of china. Inspired by the success of the Meissen factory in Saxony in working the newly discovered fields of kaolin, most of the famous potteries of Europe were established during this quarter of a century, under royal patronage or private enterprise. Sèvres and Orleans, Chelsea, Derby, Worcester, Munich, Vienna, Berlin, St. Petersburg developed hard porcelain comparable or superior to the product of China and Japan; and thus, in another field, brought Europe abreast of the highest achievements of non-European arts and crafts.

1740-65

Applied science

While the development in art, literature, philosophy, and in the borderland between art and utility was so remarkable in this period, the attention to more strictly utilitarian activities had meanwhile given promise of still further service to the world. Midway between the age of hand-labor and the use of steam, this was the era which saw the application of scientific knowledge to the extension of man's mastery over nature and her resources which marked the beginning of that peculiar characteristic of the modern world. Frank-

lin's lightning-rod offered protection against one of man's most dreaded foes. The extraction of gas from coal, though its wide practical application was long delayed, ushered in a series of discoveries of great future value to theoretical as well as applied science. The application of the principle of Newcomen's steam pumping-engine to the propulsion of vessels, however crude its earliest results, was prophetic of a great future. The invention of plated-ware evidenced another and useful extension of theory into practice; while the improvements in knitting machinery revealed the dawn of a new age of industry. At the same time the problem of transportation was attacked. For the labors of the great English engineer, Brindley, and his patron, the Earl of Bridgewater, in the construction of canals, though they represented no novel principle, gave tremendous impetus to the solution of the most pressing problem of an increasing industry—the question of freer access to markets and to sources of supply. With the extension to other parts of Europe of this mode of conveyance long familiar to Holland and France, another element was added to the widening resources of commerce.

But the talents of European peoples were by no means limited to the development of the newer arts and crafts. While the activities of the scientists and inventors had busied themselves with the application of their lately acquired knowledge to problems of industry, the oldest of civilized activities, the cultivation of the soil and the breeding of domestic animals, had begun to experience the same tendencies toward improvement and innovation as the other forms of social activity exhibited. In France the progress of the doctrines of the Physiocrats turned men's attention more and more to the land as the ultimate source of wealth; and, with the introduction of new principles of political economy, they transferred to that field the spirit of the "return to nature" which had been evident in letters and in art. Such movements always characterize periods of excessive refinement or formalism in any age of the world, as a protest against the complexity and artificiality of a too highly organized or too minutely ordered society.

The Agricultural Revolution

The influence of the Physiocrats extended far beyond letters and political economy; it had a practical influence on the development of French agriculture. But it was in England that this movement took on its chief characteristics and achieved its greatest success. It was associated at first with the development of root crops and their use as food for cattle and sheep. It was continued with the introduction of a new system of cultivation, the so-called "horse-hoeing husbandry." This is associated with the name of the great agricultural innovator, Jethro Tull, who advocated that method of sowing seed in rows and cultivating by "horse hoes," which has become the established practice of modern farming. With it came attention to the use of fertilizers and the rotation of crops, long recognized but now first studied and improved. To these were added experiments in the breeding and the care of cattle and of sheep, and the development of a crude system of seed selection, to improve the stock.

Beside the movements in the domain of letters and politics, even in those of science and the arts, the progress of this elemental occupation of society lacks much of the attractive qualities which make for general interest. Yet in the last resort it yields nothing to any subject in importance to the race; nor did it prove unattractive to many minds, however slowly it found its way into the most conservative of industries. It soon produced a literature of its own, and the Age of Louis XIV is notable for the first agricultural periodical, as the Age of Frederick the Great is remarkable for this Agricultural Revolution, as it came to be called. It enlisted the interest of the great landlord class, among whom Lord "Turnip" Townshend, as he was nicknamed, was conspicuous. It produced the agricultural societies, which thenceforth played an increasing part in rural life. It led to the foundation of cattle-breeders' associations, of no less importance, and, as a natural result, it enormously increased the production of food. Crops grew in number and variety; the weight of cattle and sheep doubled in a century, and their numbers increased in like proportion. England improved the

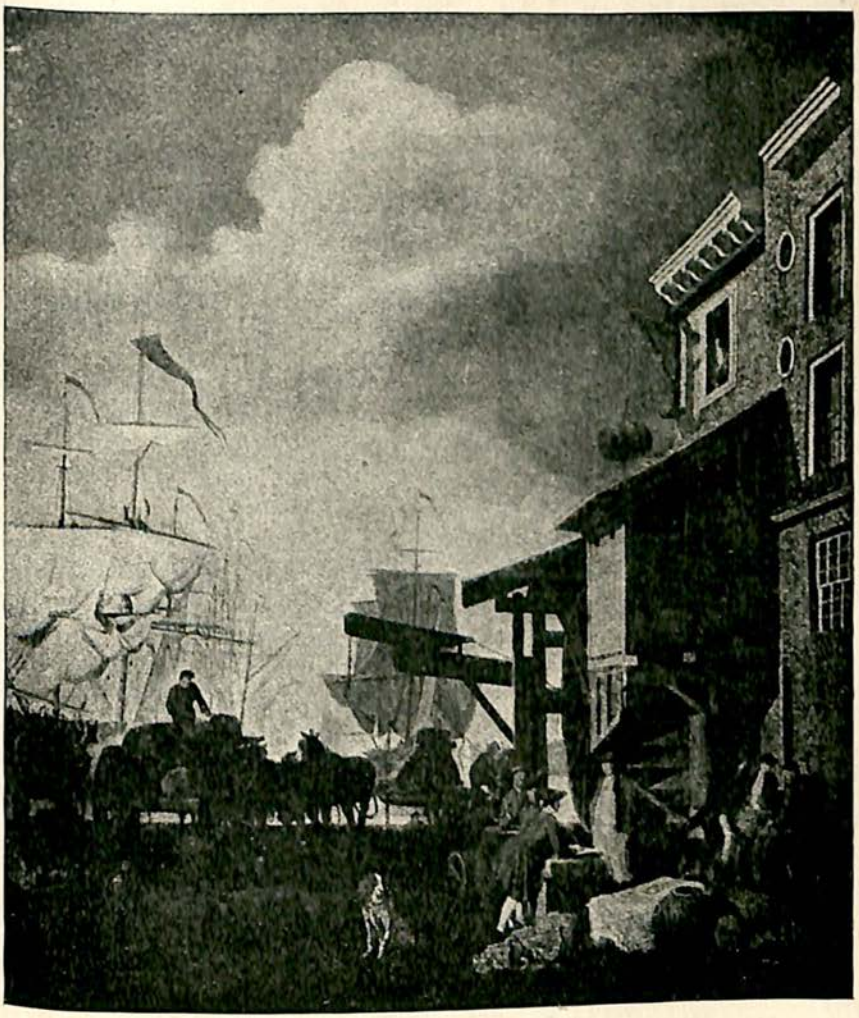
condition of her own people and became a great exporting country; France, though in a less degree, followed the same course; and Europe generally began a new age of agricultural prosperity. When, within another generation, the improved farming finally established itself, it led to other and more far-reaching social changes; and, among the ultimate results of the Agricultural Revolution, must be reckoned that process of building up those great estates which were to become a characteristic of modern England.

England and naval progress

If England led the way in most of this activity as the leading industrial and agricultural society of Europe, it was not to be supposed that, as the principal carrying and commercial agency of the world, her people should not extend their energy into the field of navigation. Nor was this the case, for her advance upon her "other element" was no less marked by her devotion to the interests of navigation. With the general use of Hadley's quadrant, which replaced all other forms, marine surveying and navigation made a great advance. To this Colson's *New Mariners' Kalendar* and Harrison's chronometers contributed no less; and these three most important contributions to the art of seamanship virtually introduced a new age of maritime achievement. The government stimulated the skill of individuals by its prizes for the chronometer, and the offer of a great reward for the discovery of a northwest passage.

Finally, with the appearance of Maskelyne's *Nautical Almanac*, and the perfection of the ship-chronometer, the whole art of seamanship prepared for further change. For, with the invention of copper sheathing, and the development of processes of distilling water on shipboard, no less than the art of determining distances sailed and calculation of latitude and longitude more accurately, was ushered in another era of navigation. These were reflected in the achievements of the sea-captains; for the voyages of Middleton in the Polar regions, and the great exploit of Anson, in addition to the constantly growing traffic throughout the world, evidenced at once the services of science and the spirit of the new race of seamen.

Vessels, meanwhile, increased in tonnage no less than in



THE OLD EAST INDIA WHARF, LONDON.

After the painting by Peter Monany. Original in Victoria and Albert Museum.

numbers. Ships of two thousand tons were no longer curiosities; guns increased in size and range no less than number; and the various classes or "rates" of vessels, headed by the so-called "seventy-four," began to take their place in admiralty calculations.

This was especially important to a nation which controlled the greater part of the commerce to North America and India. From the time when, in the preceding century, the English East India Company had begun to build a new type of ship, the so-called East Indiamen, through the eighteenth century, that vessel had been the model for long-distance commerce. It had replaced the older carrack and galleon, and found no rival for its peculiar purposes till the clipper and the steamships of the nineteenth century.

The explorers 1742-63

Yet in wider human interest even these yielded to the achievements of the French during this period. They found their chief expression in the exploits of the sons of the great explorer, la Vérendrye, who, following the route already marked to the upper Missouri in North America, penetrated nearly if not quite to the main chain of the Rocky Mountains. Through them and their successors, Lake Winnipeg and the Saskatchewan were reached, and forts erected to secure that rich fur region for France. To meet this threatened competition the Hudson's Bay Company bestirred itself. From York factory its agent, Hendry, journeyed far to the southwest, exploring that region later known as the Northwest Provinces of Canada, and so made his way to "the land of buffalo." Meanwhile, the Russian explorations, begun by Bering, had brought in their train hunters and trappers who pressed southward from the strait which bears the great explorer's name toward the region which in another generation was to be known from its English discoverer as Vancouver. To meet them in this distant quarter of the world came the Spaniards up the California coast and along those fertile valleys which still echo the names of Spanish saints and still preserve the missionary posts by which the southern power established its faith and civilization among the native tribes. Thus everywhere throughout the world, from the re-

mote Andes where French scientists sought to determine the figure of the earth by geodetic observations, and the Jesuits pushed their way along the upper Amazon and Orinoco, to this newest of the battlegrounds of commerce, these mid-decades of the eighteenth century saw science and trade unite with religion and colonization to Europeanize the earth.

Such were the lines of human activity which at once undermined the old order and laid foundations for the new, while the political fortunes of Europe were being altered. It was but natural that these events should chiefly affect the people among whom they took their rise, and that the old world should reap the chief reward of its expanding energies. Yet it was inevitable that the colonies, which had become a part of Europe in political affairs, should be stirred into ever greater activity, as widening ripples from the center of the European system spread to the extremities of the earth. In the far-flung empires of Portugal and Spain, relatively removed from the great currents of eighteenth-century thought by distance and the still more insurmountable barriers of their reactionary home governments and faith, these movements, like that of the Reformation, had found small response. But growing emigration, induced by the religious disturbances of the preceding centuries and by the great religious-colonial wars which had ensued, profoundly affected even these regions and their people by the introduction of new elements into the extra-European world. For they had done much to bring the old and new world in closer touch as European population grew beyond the sea. Now, with the entry of colonial peoples into world war between their various governments, a powerful impulse was given toward closer union with the stream of European progress.

Spain

Upon the remnants of the Portuguese empire that influence was insignificant; but Spain was in a different case. Her colonists had aided in the Anglo-Spanish struggle for Caribbean supremacy. Her government had been recompensed for loss of Florida by Louisiana; and, while she had consolidated her North American empire, she had at last been brought into direction relations with the Anglo-Saxon power.

Along the Mississippi, about Vancouver, and in the lands around the Gulf of Mexico her colonists were now matched with the advancing pioneers of English blood. They treated and traded and inevitably absorbed something of the ideas agitating that society. At the same time closer alliance with French interests brought them in touch with the spirit pervading the new school of thought. A slender, growing stream of youth, sent to Europe to be educated, recruited the increasing class of merchants and professional men, forming seed-plots of liberal thought destined in time to spread new doctrines throughout the Empire.

Meanwhile Spain's empire, after a century or more of an existence divided between internal growth and defending itself against its European enemies, gave signs of change. Nor was this due alone to the wars which transferred Florida 1763
to England and gave Spain what was to prove a transient occupation of Louisiana. More important still was the economic development within. The gradual exhaustion of the richer lodes and surface deposits of precious metals in the mining provinces did more than reduce the income of the government; it turned men's energies into other fields. About the Paraguay and Paraña, along the upper reaches of the Orinoco, fresh grazing lands were opened, soon covered with ever-increasing flocks and herds. The long ascendancy of miner and planter was challenged by gaucho and llanero, as the herders were called. Wool, hides, and animal products took their place beside gold and silver, cocoa, sugar, and coffee, as leading exports; and new sources of wealth brought new classes into prominence.

Reorganization of Spanish imperial policy

This, joined to the effects of the war, produced another important change in government. With the colonies more exposed to foreign attack, as evidenced by the spoil that Anson took in his Pacific venture, it became apparent that civil governors were no longer adequate, and in New Spain, as in Peru, a long succession of army and navy officers held the viceroyalties. It was no less evident that even the construction of new strongholds, like San Juan de Ulloa, which now 1740
took its place among Spanish-American fortresses, was not

sufficient to withstand attack; while the growing wealth and population of the Caribbean and Argentine provinces made it increasingly difficult to govern them from Lima. As a re-
1739 sult, a new viceroyalty was erected, which from its capital of Bogotá administered the old presidency of Quito and the captain-generalcy of Venezuela.

This was the first step in the reorganization of the Spanish empire. The second was more important still. Whatever the other results of the war, one was conspicuous; it was the declining authority of the home government. Not merely had Spanish and Portuguese colonists entered a war upon their own account over the Argentine-Brazilian boundary, which was then virtually determined; but, in the demoralization of commerce which the conflict with England had involved, they came more and more to take trade into their own hands. The government was powerless to prevent. The oldest Spanish commercial enterprise, the galleon trade, or convoy fleets, was given up. And, as trade restrictions were relaxed, colonists conspired with smugglers to establish a commerce outside official cognizance, which flourished despite the government's attempt at suppression and its encouragement of regulated companies. Finally, among the many readjustments which flowed from the Anglo-Spanish war, the loss of the Asiento, or right to supply slaves, which had been held by England since the Treaty of Utrecht, was another notable instance of the changes then coming over the colonial world.

The English North American colonies

Yet, with all the spread of new doctrines into the once impenetrable Spanish preserves and with the beginnings of an untrammeled trade which was to shatter the old order, it was less in South America than in the north that the developments of the mid-eighteenth century were important. The northern continent was not only a principal seat of war and its vast reaches of forest and plain one of the chief prizes of victory. Spanish and Portuguese America witnessed at best only the late and hampered efforts of a feeble society to throw off the shackles of the past. But North America, and in particular the English colonies, revealed a new and vigorous society in the making, absorbed not merely in the conflict

against its French and Spanish neighbors for room to expand, but in laying more solid bases for a real national existence.

While the empires of Spain and Portugal remained largely an aristocracy among servile native or African population; while the French in North America formed scarcely more than a garrison; the English, though partaking of these characteristics in their plantation colonies and pioneer settlements, added to them a much more powerful element. Their population in North America alone had doubled and doubled again since the beginning of the century, and, increased by immigration no less than from its own loins, numbered before the end of the war a million and more of European blood. The largest, most compact, and homogeneous body of Europeans outside of the old world, they surpassed their neighbors to the south no less in numbers than in varied resources, and outnumbered their French antagonists twenty to one. Capable of putting more than twenty thousand men into the field, they had become a determining factor in the war just closed.

Their resources

Their resources were equal to their numbers. Beside their plantation islands in the West Indies, which rivaled the possessions of the French and far exceeded those of the other powers; beside their rice and tobacco fields on the mainland, their pioneers, traders, and trappers who competed with the French in the interior, and the great farming population which had slowly occupied the land from coast to mountains, they had developed other sources of strength. Already there were signs that industrial life had gone beyond the stage in which each family made what it used, wove cloth for its garments, wrought its own iron and lumber, made its own hats and shoes, and raised its own food. The efforts of Parliament, inspired by English commercial interests, to check wider production, failed to suppress a varied industry. From the smelters of the middle colonies some thousands of tons of iron every year found its way to English manufacturers. From the New England distilleries more than a million gallons of rum annually poured into the channels of commerce. Made from West Indian molasses taken in exchange for lumber, fish, and food, it formed in turn a staple of barter

for slaves in Africa and furs in North America. At the same time colonial fleets brought from the Newfoundland Banks increasing wealth of cod, and their whalers, exhausting the rich field along the coast which laid foundations for their industry, pursued their quarry in remoter seas, whence their cargoes of whalebone and of oil still more enriched New England's commerce.

Their commerce

To carry on these enterprises the shipbuilders, with unlimited supplies of timber to draw on, flourished as more and larger vessels were required for longer and more profitable voyages. Little by little the merchant owner-employer-capitalist developed as enterprises grew in magnitude. From year to year the circle widened. Vessels for Africa exchanged their northern products for slaves, which in turn, exchanged for molasses and sugar, brought great profits from their long voyages. Others again made way to the West Indies, thence to England, and were sold, cargo and ship alike, or again exchanged tropical products for English goods. Still others plied between the northern and southern ports, or back and forth across the Atlantic, as this widening commerce grew.

Their population

Beside all this, from the mainland plantations poured an evergrowing stream of rice and tobacco; from the West Indies molasses and sugar; while from the forests everywhere, lumber and pitch and potash swelled the commerce of this trade-empire. At the same time that empire rapidly increased. Seeking refuge from persecution or from poverty, or driven out by politics, a great flood of immigrants poured in. To the English, Germans, and Huguenots was added another group as the disturbances in the British Isles during the eighteenth century drove other elements to seek refuge in the new world. Irish and Scotch and Scotch-Irish scattered through the colonies. Scotch and Scotch-Irish, in particular, found their way to the frontiers from Pennsylvania south, and, reinforcing native pioneers, pushed forward rapidly the widening boundaries of new settlement.

Their expansion

Under such impetus in the year of the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, the first English post beyond the mountains, was

founded on the Kanawha River. At the same moment land 1748
projectors, following the trail of traders and hunters, set up claims to tracts in the transmontane regions known from their rivers as Kentucky and Tennessee. Within a twelve-month a Virginian group had formed the Ohio Company to 1749
exploit these western lands. Such was the flood of English colonists whose oncoming tide the French prepared to stem. But not all their gallantry, nor all their forts, still less their claims which they inscribed on leaden plates and planted here and there to attest their rights of sovereignty, could long avail against this powerful and vigorous society which sought new outlets for its numbers and its energy.

Their intellectual and economic progress 1742-63

Although it was naturally more concerned with farms and factories, with ships and trading—and now with war for territory—than with the less material side of European progress, it was inevitable that intellectual development, art, literature, science, philosophy, should find some welcome in a society so largely European and so closely bound to the old world by ties of language, politics, and trade. Already America had produced one figure of European eminence, Benjamin Franklin. He was a characteristic product of his generation. In local matters, in general provincial affairs, in his relations with the English government and the French court, no less in his proposals to unite the colonies than in his philosophical experiments in electricity, he represented the highest intellectual achievement of Europe beyond the seas. He was one among many. The years of war saw not merely an increase in colonial wealth and population, but no small gain in the first elements of intellectual advance. To the three educational institutions then existing, Harvard, William and Mary, and Yale, the period accompanying the war saw five more added, Princeton, Pennsylvania, King's College, Rhode Island College, and Dartmouth, till every northern colony could boast a college. Under Franklin's inspiration the Philadelphia Academy came into being. In Boston, the British officers introduced Freemasonry among the colonists; in Philadelphia the first colonial hospital was established; in Savannah was founded the first orphan

asylum; and from his evangelical labors in the South, the eloquent apostle of the new Methodist sect, Whitefield, carried his message through the colonies and laid foundations for a new communion. Against his emotional appeal, so-called Revivalism, New England produced a champion of

Edwards

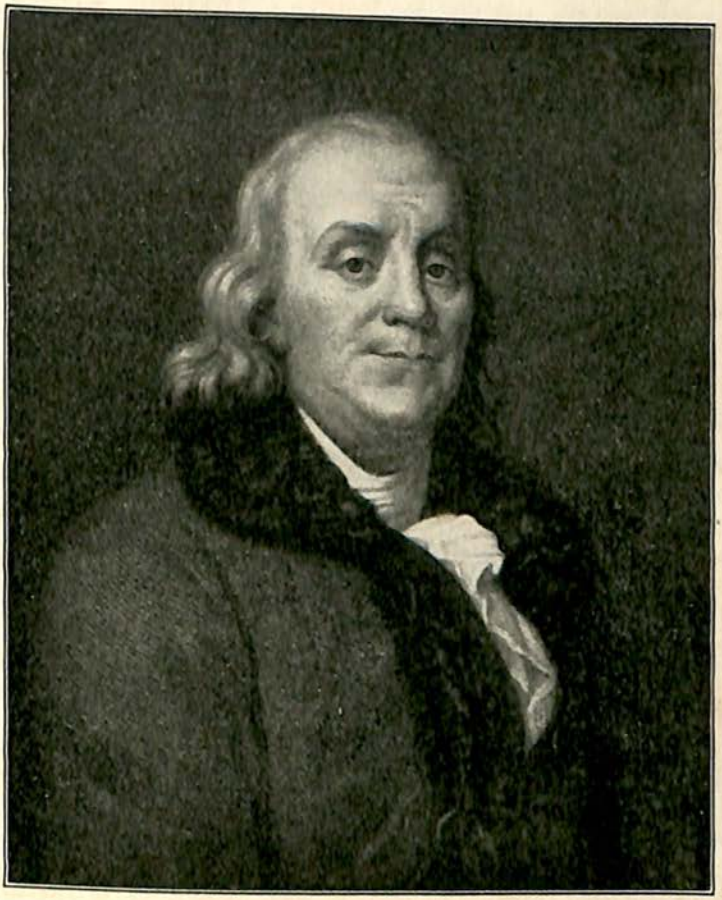
that stern, unbending school of Calvinistic thought, Jonathan Edwards, the greatest of American theologians. Deriving his conclusions with unfaltering logic from his premise of the sovereignty of God and man's depravity, he epitomized the grimmest features of a belief already at variance with every impulse of the newer thought, and gave to Presbyterianism that rigidity of intellectual conviction which it was slow to lose. Far different was the influence of Bishop

Berkeley

Berkeley, who, for some years, made his home in Rhode Island, and there, as in England, developed that system of metaphysics which, in distinction from the materialism to which Descartes and Locke tended, lifted the problems of philosophy to higher levels and paved the way for men like Hume. He introduced the idea of subjective as opposed to merely objective reality; of causation; of a deep spirituality underlying intellectual processes. And this, taken in connection with his humanity and philanthropic character, made this sojourner in the colonies one of the master-spirits of his time.

Colonial politics 1739-63

Yet with all their interest in trade, settlement, and war, their very real concern with questions of theology, and their slighter achievements in literature and science, the chief intellectual interest of the American colonists lay in the field of politics. The theories of the origin of government, then making way upon the continent, had a peculiar charm for men who felt themselves, however dimly, the founders of a new nation. The doctrine of natural rights strongly attracted those perpetually at war with the restrictions which the mother country imposed, and with the officials sent to administer her laws. Far more than Locke's metaphysics, which inspired Edwards and Berkeley and colonial theologians generally, the colonists laid stress on that philosopher's treatise on government. Nor was this mere theory



BENJAMIN FRANKLIN.

From an engraving by J. Thomson, from the original picture by J. A. Duplessis.

with them; for each event in their expanding history gave opportunity to test these doctrines in their own experience.

The outbreak of hostilities had been accompanied by Franklin's proposal to unite the colonies. The crisis of the war developed quarrels between royal governors and provincial assemblies in Massachusetts and Pennsylvania over the right to tax and to quarter troops; and, as earlier, the efforts to press men for the navy had led to popular risings in Boston. The spirit of controversy was aroused, fed no less by European theory than by colonial practice; and the whole was crowned by the quarrel which the efforts of England to restrict commerce and regulate colonial affairs now brought to a culmination. Following the Molasses Act of the preceding generation, opposition to British colonial policy was increased by the limitations set on manufacturing, especially of hats and ironware, the prosecution of slave trade despite the opposition of Virginia and Carolina, and the issuance of so-called Writs of Assistance to enable customs officers to check the 1761
evasion of customs so generally practised. And, at the moment England triumphed over her continental enemies, her government found itself confronted by colonial resistance to its measures. That resistance, centering in Boston, spread through her American provinces the doctrine of no taxation without representation, couched in the phrases of the most advanced political theorists and supported by a powerful element in colonial affairs.

Europe and the colonies

With this, the circle of these two eventful decades ended as it began, within the colonies. By them and for them in large part, war had been waged. Their economic development had been conditioned by like progress at home. From their frontiers the boundaries of European knowledge and influence had been pushed forward; and now, through them, the newer doctrines of politics were to be tested in practice. Not even the rise of Prussia nor the decline of France upon the continent were of such importance to the next generation as the development of this new society beyond the sea. From a position of outlying frontier provinces, they had won a place in European circles; and, however little recognized by

those whose eyes still turned only to Europe, North America was in no long time to take the center of the stage. With its entry into affairs, and the corresponding rise of new political doctrines and industrial conditions, the European world was on the eve of change worthy to rank beside the greatest convulsions of its eventful past.

For, as they had earlier been connected with religion, as they had been later associated with politics, and were at all times bound up with economic development, so now the colonies came into touch with the great intellectual movement of the time, which made for liberty. From their situation no less than from their inclination, this chiefly appealed to them on its political side. It was not long before they endeavored to translate theory into practice; and in that effort, which was ultimately to prove successful throughout the western hemisphere, they were destined to inaugurate a new era of history on both sides of the sea.

CHAPTER XXXIV

THE EUROPEAN EMPIRE. 1763-1768

The results of the Peace of Paris

WHEN in February, 1763, the treaties of Paris and Hubertsburg were signed and the long wars of the Austrian Succession came to an end, it was apparent that Europe had reached another great turning-point in her career. For more than twenty years she had scarcely known peace within her own borders, while the most distant peoples of the earth had been drawn into her quarrels, whose settlement had altered the aspect not of Europe alone but of the world. Nor did the changes end with conclusion of the war. The treaties which brought it to a close were followed by a period of transformation which filled the ensuing decade with movements and events of as far-reaching influence and of even more profound importance than those of the war itself, and due only in part to that conflict. In large measure they arose from causes lying deep in the heart of the times, and were the expression of an inquiring skepticism, which, rejecting mere authority, sought a basis of life and thought through reason and investigation. This force now prepared to carry the scientific method far beyond the regions to which it had originally been confined, and uniting with it the historical spirit and method to inquire into the foundations of authority itself.

Liberal thought

"The first step toward philosophy," wrote Diderot, "is incredulity"; and in almost every field of human thought, in science and invention, in literature and art, in religion and philosophy, in economics, as in politics, administration, and law, the spirit he thus expressed made its way. Relieved from the long burden of the war, men turned with greater eagerness to the new activities opened to intellect. Under Voltaire's ascendancy skepticism contended for the first time

on equal terms with superstition. The *Encyclopédie* of Diderot and his colleagues, then completed, diffused knowledge and ideas of the new crusade wherever it penetrated.

1763 Rousseau's *Contrat Social,* which appeared in the year of the peace, attacked the citadel of a society organized on the basis of aristocratic privilege. The foundations of that edifice had long since been undermined by such books as Montesquieu's *Spirit of the Laws,* supporting and supported by the earlier arguments and theories of English political philosophers such as Hobbes and Locke. Influenced by these more famous works or by the currents of the time, a crowd of lesser writers brought the new doctrines home to thousands untouched by profounder thinkers. Thus the works of Italian poets and philosophers—Beccaria's study of Crimes and Punishments, the political teachings of Burlamaqui, the dramas of Alfieri—were reinforced by the open defense of democracy from the pens of obscure forerunners of revolution. And these found readers and believers not alone in Europe but throughout her colonies, preparing the way for wide acceptance of the theory of "natural" rights and popular government.

Economic progress

While the fetters of human thought were being loosed, new ways were being opened for it to tread. In France the Physiocrats pleaded for the emancipation of industry, the freedom and improvement of the land; and liberal administrators like Turgot began to put their principles into practice. In England, Adam Smith was formulating the doctrines of his *Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations.* Such work was to alter all economic thought, loosen the bonds which hampered commerce, and extend to the province of government the methods and ideas which made possible a further advance in other departments of intellectual activity. There, too, while enlightened individuals were interesting themselves in that scientific study of agriculture and cattle-raising which was to multiply the resources of mankind, inventors, like Arkwright and Hargreaves, with their spinning machinery, and Watt, with his improved steam-engine; Brindley with his canals; the road builders, the potters, the iron-workers; revolutionized the industry and the communications

of the people which was even then beginning to take the lead in the impending material revolution of the world.

Science

Pure science made no less advance, for in those same years were laid the foundations of the study of gases, of electricity, and of heat, which gave fresh impulse to the study of physics and of chemistry. Literature reflected the spirit of the times. The revival of criticism, the rise of a natural and a romantic school, opposed to the classic and formal canons of the passing age, were no less symptomatic of the altering tastes and standards of the age than the "return to nature," evidenced simultaneously in fields so widely different as art and political philosophy. "Everything I see," wrote Voltaire in the year following the peace, "is scattering the seeds of a revolution, which will come inevitably. Light has so spread from neighbor to neighbor that on the first occasion it will kindle and burst forth. Happy the young for their eyes shall see it!"

The enlightened despots

It was but natural that an era of political reorganization should follow the peace. It was no less natural that, in the face of the movement in other fields, this should be affected in greater or less degree by the prevailing spirit of the times. As a result, throughout the continent a new race of rulers arose—the enlightened despots. These, converted by the current scientific and social ideas to the belief that their power brought with it duties and responsibilities as well as privileges, undertook to repair not only the ravages of war but those long-standing abuses of administration which had weakened the resources of their states. They endeavored no less to improve the material welfare of their subjects, as prudent landlords of vast estates might have cared for their tenants. The great Frederick, turning to the arts of peace, revised the laws, reformed the courts, encouraged immigration and agriculture, with an energy and ability no less considerable than he had shown in war and diplomacy—and with results certainly more beneficial to mankind and at least as valuable to his subjects as his conquests. His old antagonist, Maria Theresa, and still more her son, the future Emperor Joseph II, entered on the field of legal and administrative

reform with no less zeal. And in like kind, if varying degree, the rulers of nearly all the greater autocratic states throughout the continent, followed the lead thus set, as an era of better institutions and more intelligent administration began to dawn.

Catherine and Russia 1762-96

Its most conspicuous expression was in the east. There Russia, under her great, bad Empress Catherine, revised her laws and reformed her administration after the most approved fashion of enlightened despotism. At her court the liberal notions of western Europe presented a curious contrast to the imperfectly civilized masses of a great part of her possessions. The admirer of Voltaire, the friend of Diderot, Catherine secularized the property of the church while with cynical toleration she allowed the Jesuits to settle at one end of her dominions and the Tartars to build mosques at the other. Science she favored more sincerely, and while the children of Louis XV and Charles III died of smallpox, the Russian empress became the first subject in her empire of the newly discovered treatment by vaccination. Like Frederick the Great, she brought the persecuted of Germany to people her unoccupied lands. The vast steppes of the Volga and the Ukraine, the Cossack hetmanates of Little Russia, the Zaporogian "setcha," were invaded by the settlers from the west; and colonization pushed eastward the limits of actual European settlement till the land was dotted with two hundred new towns which owed their beginnings to her far-sighted policy.

Poland

Yet this peaceful and beneficent progress was eclipsed in the eyes of the world outside by the expansion of her political power with which it was accompanied. In that field, at least, Russia, like Prussia and Austria, showed that the most advanced ideas of the eighteenth century renaissance were quite compatible with the most selfish diplomacy. On her western border lay the ancient kingdom of Poland, anarchic in its constitution, mediæval in its conception of religion and of war. Its monarchy was elective. Political authority, such as there was, rested for the most part in the hands of a proud and intractable nobility controlling a Diet, where by a triumph

of fatuous imbecility, one vote could block all action. The Polish population, divided between lords and serfs, Greek and Roman Catholics, Poles and Lithuanians, lacked the steadying influence of a middle class, and offered a fertile field for intestine feud.

The first partition of Poland

Amid such confusion the liberal element strove to alter the constitution, give the king more power, and abolish the *liberum veto* which paralyzed the action of the Diet. Had it succeeded, Poland might still have a part in European councils. But Russia took advantage of the situation thus created to form a party in the state, which, under guise of preserving the old constitution, fomented the quarrel it professed to check. Its candidate, Stanislaus Poniatowski, was elected king. Religious and political discord increased; and, within three years, the Roman Catholics formed the Confederacy of Bar against their fellow-countrymen of the Eastern Church, backed by the Russian power. When the inevitable civil war broke out, Russia, Austria, and Prussia intervened. The French minister, Choiseul, almost alone among European statesmen, strove to save Poland from her fate, and strove in vain. Only the Turks responded to a call for aid, and they soon felt the weight of Russian arms. For five years the unequal conflict went on, but the end was determined from the first. Polish power was overthrown, and ten years after the great peace, the Polish Diet was compelled to accept a treaty which robbed Poland of a great part of her territory and sealed her fate as a nation. Austria took Galicia and the south. Prussia united the Polish lands from which her king took his title to her Brandenburg electorate; and Russia, advancing her borders to the Dwina, absorbed old Lithuania. A year later the war with the Turks came to a triumphant close. The Treaty of Kutschuk Kainardji brought the Tartars of Crimea and Kouban under the Russian rule, which now stretched from the Dnieper on the west to the Caucasus on the south, and embraced the long coveted northern shore of the Black Sea and the navigation of its waters, with the protectorate of the Danubian principalities, Moldavia and Wallachia.

1772-3

1774

Results of the peace on the colonies

Yet, great as were the changes wrought in the boundaries and the administration of Europe during the decade which followed the Peace of Paris, it was but natural that the alterations in those states which held lands beyond the sea, and the effect upon those extra-European lands, should be greater still.

Holland

For to all the colonial powers save one, that period was peculiarly significant. Holland alone, having taken no part in the war, had no voice in the peace. Sunk in commercial lethargy, she remained relatively insensible to the political changes then taking place about her. Neither in her internal nor in her colonial affairs did she alter her course to suit the current of the times; and, though still the refuge of the intellectually and politically oppressed, she shared but little in the movements in those fields which were absorbing the interest of her contemporaries.

Portugal —Pombal 1750-77

Far different was the case of Portugal. There her greatest minister in modern times, Sebastian de Carvalho, later and better known as Marquis of Pombal, had striven for many years and with no small measure of success to raise the state to something of its former eminence. He had checked the power of the Inquisition and reorganized finance, re-established the navy, and founded a police. Seeking new springs of wealth and enterprise abroad, he set up trading companies to exploit the riches of Brazil, and moved the capital from Bahia to Rio Janeiro. Nor were the indirect results of his activities of less importance than their immediate effect. In pursuance of his projects he freed the slaves in a great part of the colony and negotiated the transfer of the Jesuit "reductions" in Paraguay from Spain to Portugal. This led him into conflict with that powerful society; and to curb its strength, thrown against him and the king, he expelled the Jesuit confessors from the court. A "visitor," appointed by the Pope, checked their activities in trade; and, finally, following an attack upon the king, in which they were suspected of a share, the order was driven from Portugal and her colonies.

Scarcely was the Peace of Paris signed when the attack upon the Jesuits was taken up by France. There Choiseul, laboring to repair the results of his own restless diplomacy and restore his country's lost prestige, was busy reorganizing affairs at home and gathering up the remnants of power abroad. In the face of debts which drove her financiers to desperation, of royal extravagance and official maladministration which sapped the foundations of the state, he still dreamed of future greatness and revenge. His emissaries strove, and not without success, to maintain the ascendancy of French diplomacy in European courts. Punitive expeditions against the pirates of Tunis and Biserta, the strengthening of French influence in Egypt and the Levant, the renewal of friendly relations with the Turks, revived the dreams of a French Mediterranean; and these were magnified by the purchase of Corsica, which was in revolt against her suzerain, Genoa. Meanwhile, he planned commercial conquest in the west. The Family Compact which gave to France trading concessions in the Spanish colonies, the islands which remained, and a new settlement of Kouron in French Guiana—now re-named Equinoctial France—on which he spent thousands of lives and millions of francs, were made the basis for a project of a new colonial empire to replace the one just lost.

The fall of the Jesuits —Choiseul 1758-70

1768

Here, like Pombal, he trenched upon the Jesuits. The failure of their factor in Martinique, and the repudiation of his debts by the society, with the consequent losses to merchants in the south of France, led to an attack which drove the society from French soil. The other Bourbon powers followed the lead thus given, and Spain, Naples, and Parma, in turn, expelled it from their borders. For a time the Papacy held firm, but when it gave way the order which would not bend was broken. To the appeals for reform, the haughty answer of its general, "Sint ut sunt, aut non sint," "Let them be as they are or cease to be," became a classic of conservatism. The retort was swift and decisive. Ten years after the peace, Clement XIV in a famous bull, *Dominus ac Redemptor,* decreed the dissolution of the great

1773

organization, which, though it was to continue in different hands and under various names, thenceforth no longer filled the place in the world's affairs which it had occupied for two eventful centuries.

Character of the Jesuits

Nothing was more symbolic of the period upon which Europe was entering than the suppression of the Jesuits. For two hundred years they had been a power throughout the European world. A bulwark against the Protestant Revolt, their schools had covered the continent. The pioneers of the faith, their missions had reached the farthest corners of the earth. In face of fearful persecution and tremendous obstacles their undaunted agents had preached the doctrines of the church through crowded centers of the East, as through the trackless plains and forests of the West, with equal devotion and success. Their schoolmasters and missionaries were alike the admiration and despair of their rivals; and, had the order been content with spiritual triumphs, it might well have kept its place.

The causes of their dissolution

But the Jesuits had developed a system of casuistry reckoned dangerous to society, no less inside the church than out. They had entered politics. Their confessors had gained the ear of kings. Their emissaries had embarked in temporal affairs, entered trade, founded a state; and had become so all-pervasive and so powerful that the most Catholic of governments, even the church itself, came to regard them as a menace. It was the irony of changing circumstance that the order should receive its first reverse at the hand of that power under whose auspices its first missionary had sailed upon his first crusade. It was even more significant that its downfall came through its commercial enterprise. The charges of asceticism, obscurantism, formalism, absolutism, leveled against it by the newer schools of thought, had proved as impotent as in Pascal's time to break its power. These the Jesuits had endured with equanimity for two centuries; their competition in trade ruined them in a generation.

Spain—d'Aranda 1766-73

Upon no state did the combined effect of war and the expulsion of the Jesuits fall with greater force than on Spain, and it was fortunate for her at this crucial time that

she had an enlightened king and a great minister. Charles III had long since embarked on a liberal career; but his path had been beset with difficulties of no ordinary sort, for he had been hampered by the past and by the church. Yet even in his backward land the influence of each was weakening. When he called the Count d'Aranda to the ministry to check disturbances following the war, he found in him an able and adroit lieutenant at whose hands the whole Spanish world was inspired with unusual activity. At first, indeed, the situation seemed precarious. By the acquisition of Louisiana, which she had received in compensation for her loss of Florida, Spain had apparently been strengthened in territory, wealth, and imperial possibilities. But her new French subjects were far from being reconciled to this change of masters, while the severity of their first governor so antagonized them that within five years they had rebelled and set up a republic of their own, from which they were only recovered by stress of force. 1769

Reorganization of her colonial system

Bad as this was, the commercial situation created or aggravated by the war was still more serious. While the English had held Havana, its harbor had been crowded with their ships. The peace which legalized their cutting of mahogany in Honduras, kept open by that concession the door for smuggling into Mexico, which had long been used by them. There, as elsewhere, the slight trade which Spain had hitherto maintained with difficulty in competition with foreign contraband seemed now about to disappear. The king, who had already tried to lift those outworn restrictions, so long and zealously enforced by his people, so long and so successfully evaded by their enemies, had been defeated in his plans by the threatened bankruptcy of Cadiz, which still enjoyed her old monopoly. But this new crisis left no choice, and his wise policy was now revived.

Beginning with the least valued districts like Cuba, restrictions were slowly and grudgingly removed. New ports in Spain were opened to colonial trade; and, starting with New Orleans, commercial privileges were gradually extended to the other ports in the New World. The ban on intercolonial

traffic was removed, until within ten years Spain's trade with her colonies, despite the failure of the companies formed to handle it, began to rival that in smuggled merchandise for the first time in at least two hundred years. The great revival did not end with this. New methods for extracting precious metals, and new mines increased the wealth derived from that source. New territories were occupied, as at either extremity of empire, Texas and Patagonia, settlements were begun; and, still beyond, steps were taken to occupy the Falkland Islands. No less were measures put into effect to spread Spain's civilization with her power. Orders were issued to enforce her language throughout New Spain, to unify its divergent elements and link them more closely to each other and to the government. Amid such varied activities a more liberal régime began for Portugal and Spain in the New World as in the old; and, had it not been for circumstances outside the sphere of their own influence, these measures might have not merely revived but perpetuated their authority indefinitely.

Such were the dominant forces at work accomplishing the revolution in affairs which accompanied and followed the Peace of Paris. At the moment, indeed, the dramatic circumstances of war and diplomacy, the removal of French power from India and America, the fall of the Jesuits, and the partition of Poland, filled the public mind to the exclusion of less spectacular developments. Yet beneath the shadow of these great catastrophes lay still more pregnant forces, as science, invention, and philosophy combined to shift the weight of industry and thought to an unstable equilibrium, where a touch would be sufficient to overthrow the old establishment which seemed so secure. No order arose to take the place of the proscribed society, no new state sprang from the ruins of Poland. But as the new thought made its way into the minds of men, as the vigorous despotism of imperial Russia replaced Polish anarchy and Turkish autocracy, and European boundaries of intellect and politics broadened, it was apparent that forces were at work more formidable by far than the systems they replaced. Men still spoke, indeed,

the language of the old régime, but they were preparing to translate it into the doctrines and the actions of a rapidly altering society. And among the infinite, scarcely perceptible signs of coming change, none was more evident, to all but those most interested, than the situation in that power, which, for the moment, seemed most prosperous and secure,—the British Empire.

The British Empire

If the great peace, amid its losses and its gains, brought grave problems to almost every continental state, its heaviest burdens fell upon the nation which reaped its greatest benefits; and its affairs became, in consequence, of paramount importance in world politics. From the war England emerged the dominant colonial power of the world. Not in extent, perhaps, nor in mere numbers, was she pre-eminent, for the huge Spanish domain, stretching along the Pacific from the Antarctic to the Arctic zone and half across two continents, rivaled her in both area and population and exceeded her possessions in immediate wealth. But in the deeper sources of imperial strength; the mastery of the sea, the widest lands available for European settlement, the richest trade, the largest group of European colonists, and possibilities of development, she stood almost alone. In India the French regained their factories; but power and prestige remained in England's hands, and she became the heir-presumptive to that huge peninsula. In Africa she gave up Goree for Senegal; in Europe, Belle Isle for Minorca, strengthening her position in each case. Even in the West Indies, where she had made extraordinary, and as it seemed to many, unnecessary concessions for the sake of peace, she remained only second in importance to Spain. In North America, despite Spanish territorial preponderance, the vast areas east of the Mississippi and north of the Great Lakes offered sufficient field for even English ambitions. When, three years before, Pitt, to whom her victories were so largely due, brought to the young Prince George the news of his accession to the throne, he might well have echoed Cortez' proud boast that he gave the new sovereign more kingdoms than his father left him provinces. But that moment had marked the height

Its extent in 1763

of England's power; though the peace had registered, it had not increased her gains, and almost before it was ratified her position had begun to change.

England's political character and situation

That it altered so suddenly was due to her domestic politics. Differing in so many ways from her European neighbors, England's variation from the continental type was never more pronounced than at this time. Many of the movements which slowly revolutionized their thought through the first half of the eighteenth century had met small response from her. Nor was this remarkable. The doctrines of Voltaire and of Rousseau found the less welcome at her hands since the conditions they attacked played such small part in her affairs. However defective her political system appears to modern eyes, accustomed to broader and more uniform rights, England had gone so far along the path of personal liberty and representative government that preachers of change abroad found texts for their homilies in her institutions. No small number of the ideas then afloat in liberal circles on the continent owed their origin to English thought. No small number of the reforms demanded by them had long been the commonplaces of English practice. England had, indeed, a king, but arbitrary power had long since fallen from his hands. She had an aristocracy, but no well-nigh insuperable barriers, as abroad, divided it from the lower orders of society. Its ranks were open to talent, its younger sons were reckoned commoners, and it lacked at once the personal privilege and the feudal rights still recognized on the continent. English political power was vested in a Parliament whose lower and elective House controlled the purse, with all that such control implied. Though by this arrangement the nation lost in efficiency something of what it gained in liberty, the gain was reckoned greater than the loss; and when, as during the late war, the parts of its system worked in harmony or were dominated by a master spirit, its weakness nowhere appeared.

Yet, with all this, England was almost as far from democracy as from tyranny. Her system and ideals were those of an aristocracy. Her close and illogical borough representation, which controlled the lower House, rigid, unequal, and

corrupt, reflected the spirit and practice of an earlier age. Land still remained the touchstone of social and political privilege, and the wealth of trade found its admission into society and politics only through the narrow gate of a connection with the ruling influences. The artisan and farm laborer, sailor and shopkeeper, the great majority of Englishmen in fact, found small part or none in public life, for political power was still monopolized by the upper classes none the less because it was clothed in popular forms.

Government of the colonies

One feature above all others marked a further difference between England and her more arbitrary contemporaries. Her government, like her success in war, was largely dependent on a favoring balance of forces and the coincidence of their strength, no less in her imperial than in her domestic concerns. At no time was this more evident than now, for her political organization, as well as her far-reaching conquests, made the problem which confronted her not merely greater than that of her rivals, but infinitely more complex. Different as Mexico, the West Indies, and the Philippines were from each other, the issues and methods of their government were not unlike. But England ruled a trading company's territories in East India, the newly won and disaffected French of Canada, West Indian planters, widely scattered fortresses and posts throughout the world, huge savage areas, above all a group of self-governing colonies of European blood—a vast inheritance of divergent interests, for which, unlike the continental states, she had no centralized administrative machinery. To a colonial council as to unlimited royal power she was as much a stranger as to great standing armies and religious persecution. In India a decadent company, and in the rest an authority divided between crown, ministers, Parliament, and a somnolent Board of Trade and Plantations, alternately aided and embarassed by active and jealous provincial assemblies in many of her American colonies, made up an administrative complex unparalleled in history.

The Whigs 1688-1760

In some degree this lack of centralized control had long been partially supplied, partly concealed, by the supremacy

of a political association within the state. Seventy years earlier the Whigs had driven James II from the throne, and since that time the chief thread of continuity in English politics had been the Whig ascendancy. Supported by the Hanoverian house which they had called to the throne, their power rested on a Parliament which they had made supreme, even over the crown itself; since the practice of choosing ministers from the party holding a majority in the lower House, and the withdrawal of the sovereign from the ministerial council or cabinet, made it the real executive. Their practices no less than their policy gave them control of this majority. Their widespread, ably administered political organization, headed by a close-knit oligarchy of high nobility, was constantly recruited by popular leaders chosen for political ability from the ambitious talent of the nation, which saw in Whig favor the only open way to high preferment. Below these stood a great array of placemen and pensioners, officers and officials, which royal aid and parliamentary control enabled them to nominate. The narrow, unequal, often corrupt electoral system which they maintained in all its outworn form with great tenacity, offered a fertile field for the political manipulation which contributed to their hold on Parliament.

Whig policy

For popular support, beyond these elements, they relied chiefly on the commercial, Nonconformist interest, attracted by their principles and their policy. Their principles were, indeed, their chief claim to greatness. Devotion to a parliamentary and a Protestant supremacy, freedom from royal and military dominance, virtual religious tolerance, and those private rights expressed in jury trial and free speech, *habeas corpus,* and an independent judiciary, made them the most enlightened party of their time. Their narrow and selfish economic policy differed from that of the continent chiefly in its superior measure of success, due to England's naval supremacy. Restricting British sea-borne trade to British ships, and manufacturing to British soil, confining colonial production to raw materials or those ill-suited to the British climate, it partook of that most stringent form of high pro-

tection known as the mercantile system. On the political side, Whig imperial policy was far more liberal. Subject to supervision of the home government and to the law-making power of Parliament, it allowed the English colonists the right to legislate upon their own affairs, and freed them from imperial taxation, save for customs on certain articles—imposed for the purpose of regulating trade, and not for revenue—in return for supplementing English power with money and troops required in time of colonial wars.

By such means the Whigs strove to make England not merely the legislator and defender of the Empire, but its factory, its market-place, its nursery for seamen, and, above all, perhaps, its treasury—a reservoir of wealth and power, easily accessible to taxation, which would have been difficult and might have been impossible to impose directly on distant colonies and dependencies. To this imperial policy their diplomacy contributed its share. Under their rule no war was fought, no peace was signed, without some gain to British trade, if not to territory. With the triumphs of the Seven Years' War this party, whose parallel Europe had scarcely seen, save for the Venetian Council of Ten, to which they were sometimes compared, reached the grand climacteric of its long career.

George III 1760-1820

It is small wonder that when, three years before the peace, the young king, George III, came to the throne, Whig domination seemed to him the chief problem of politics. He had been estranged from his grandfather, the Whig George II; and the doctrines of Bolingbroke's Patriot King, the lectures of the great jurist, Blackstone, combined with the teachings of his mother and those around him to instil his mind with Tory principles. In the spirit of enlightened despotism as applied to English conditions, he conceived a king ruling through Parliament, forming a party there to support ministers chosen by the crown, and governing by the same means which had kept the Whig oligarchy in power. Well educated, with strong if narrow intelligence, an unusual aptitude for politics, conscientious, industrious, virtuous, with the stub-

born courage of his house, he set himself to replace Whig supremacy with that of the crown.

George III and the Whigs 1760-3

In the situation of affairs the struggle between the king and the oligarchy became an event of more than English, more even than European significance. It was not merely a conflict between two parties and two theories of government. Events were soon to prove that it involved the destinies of the whole European world. To its conduct the king brought certain advantages. Unlike his predecessors he was English born. He adopted Whig policies. Save for the question of the position of the crown, he was aided at once by the considerable element in the nation opposed to Whig domination, and by the factions which too long continuance in power had bred in the ranks of the ruling party itself. He chose his position, moreover, with skill, and, avoiding the issue of principle, attacked the oligarchy on its weakest side, its practices. As the European war dragged to a close, the English monarch resumed the royal patronage, replaced Whig placemen with his own followers, built up a party in Parliament, disputed control of the electorate, and fomented dissension among the Whigs. Pitt was driven from office by the "silken barons" of the oligarchy, with whom he had long been at feud. The king forced their leader, the Duke of Newcastle, to resign by depriving him of his political patronage; and called his own tutor and favorite, the Tory Bute, to take his place. This done, he enlisted the chief Whig manipulator, Fox, and combined his forces with such effect that the Commons, which had followed Pitt to war, now, in the face of his fiery eloquence, voted five to one to bring the conflict to an end. Such was the first European result of the struggle between the English crown and the Whig Party.

The fall of the Whig Party 1760-

This was not the only effect of the first years of George III's activity. Under the pressure of the crown and the disintegrating forces in its own ranks came the disruption of that great political connection which had so long directed the destinies of England. Party gave way to groups. Pitt,

1770

Grenville, Bedford, Rockingham, led separate followings, hating each other no less than the common enemy; while,

with a composite following from the rival camps, the king was enabled to divide and rule by the same means the oligarchs had employed. Bute was driven from place by his unpopularity. The Whig George Grenville became prime minister; and his administration, following the peace, began a new era of English politics. It was far more than a change of ministry. Upon this state where power still hung undetermined in an unstable equilibrium of shifting groups there fell the burden of remodeling an empire, already stirring in a vague unrest.

Between Grenville's uninspiring talent for finance and Pitt's more dazzling gifts there lay a gulf which typified the altered situation of world politics, as armed conflict gave way to payment of the debts it had incurred and organization of the territories which had changed hands. The situation of the new minister was difficult in the extreme. Without Aranda's or Pombal's authority; without the genius of the highest statesmanship or an inspiring eloquence; hampered by the exigencies of domestic politics,—where a mishandled controversy with the adventurer Wilkes grew to a quarrel over popular liberties,—in full accord neither with his own party nor the king, this first of English imperial financiers addressed his thankless task. His earliest duty was to the newly conquered lands, and even before the peace was signed a royal proclamation organized the new territories in America; where four governments, Quebec, East and West Florida, and Grenada, were set up with royal officials. To Nova Scotia were annexed the adjacent islands and mainland; to Grenada the unorganized islands of the West Indian archipelago. The Georgia line was carried south to Florida; and, in apparent contradiction of the older colonies' chartered rights, the lands west of the Alleghanies were erected into an Indian reservation, and white settlement forbidden there for the time being. New officials were named for colonial offices, and England embarked upon a policy which looked toward greater imperial unity.

Grenville 1763-5

1762-3

Scarcely was it in train when at both extremities of the empire the eternal question of defense was raised in its acutest

The problem of imperial defense 1763

form. In North America an Algonquin chief, Pontiac, inspired by the hope of aiding his old friends the French, and checking the English occupation of the west, formed a confederacy of the western tribes, seized the outlying posts, raided the border, and laid siege to Detroit. At the same moment war broke out in India. There Mir Cossim, the Nawab of Bengal, failing to meet the demands of the Company, to which he owed his throne, rebelled against its authority. For months both situations remained dangerous. In North America troops hurried to the front. The influence of the great Indian agent, Sir William Johnson, held the Six Nations to their allegiance. The posts were retaken. Detroit, after the longest siege in border history, was relieved. Pontiac was compelled to take refuge with tribes farther west; and the frontier resumed uneasy peace. At the same time in India, Mir Cossim was deposed, defeated by the forces of the Company, and deprived of all his fortresses save Patna. Putting to death his English prisoners there, he fled to Oudh, whose nawab, Sujah Dowlah, had already joined forces with the Mogul Emperor, Shah Alam II. The three rulers, marching against the English, were overwhelmingly defeated at Baxar, the Emperor sought protection in the English camp, and Oudh was overrun by the Company's troops. Thus, at the very moment of her triumph over France, the problem of guarding her far-flung frontier was thrust violently on England's attention.

1764

Imperial finance

With it were bound up other interests, growing largely out of that conflict. Pitt had made war regardless of expense, with such effect that England's national debt had doubled in five years, its interest charges alone equaling the whole cost of government not many years before. Despite her territorial expansion, the increase of her potential strength, and her immediate commercial prosperity, England's available resources had not multiplied proportionately to the new demands; and her eight million people who endured this fresh burden were weary of its weight. That feeling had contributed no small part to the majority against continuance of the glorious but extravagant war which pro-

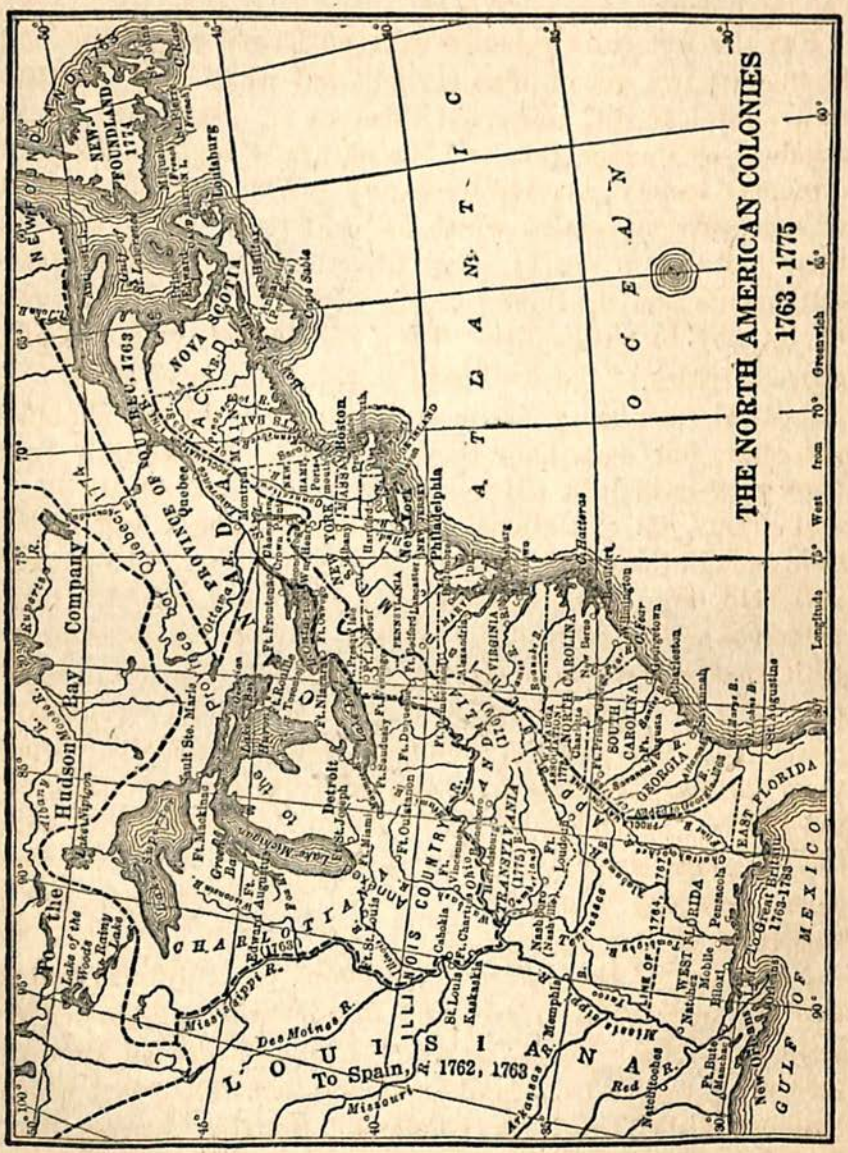
duced it. In relation to their numbers it was as heavy as that of France, now staggering on to national bankruptcy. It was not lightened by the new problems of administration and defense; and beside these two perplexing questions, it forced on the embarrassed ministry a third, and even more pressing exigency, that of taxation.

America

It is small wonder that in this crisis their eyes turned to the American colonies. There the triple problem of empire was revealed in its most concrete form. There lay a population of a million and a half, with half a million slaves, possessed of vast natural resources, enjoying most of the benefits of the imperial bond, with few or none of its burdens or responsibilities, its taxes scarce a fiftieth of those levied on Englishmen at home. Colonial frontiers and commerce were guarded by British arms. Imperial markets were open to their goods; and their sole contribution to the support of the imperial establishment lay in paying their own judges and governors, in the indirect profits of their trade, and in the money and men which their own interest no less than that of the mother country impelled them to lend to colonial wars. They were singularly privileged to conduct their own political affairs, with a minimum of interference from the sovereign power, as compared with other European dependencies. At the same time no small part of their wealth, especially that of the New England provinces, was derived from almost open violation of the laws which professed to regulate imperial commerce; and, economically, no less than politically, they were the freest of European colonies.

Such was the situation as it appeared to English eyes. Was it too much to ask, in this emergency, that the colonists, like Englishmen, should contribute to imperial defense within their borders, and obey their country's laws? To the ministers, and to most Englishmen beside, the question seemed one of administration and finance, of mutual obligations and responsibilities, of laws and charters, to be arranged, as such matters had always been, by Parliament. Only here and there an unregarded prophet foresaw that this apparently simple question touched the very heart of things, and brought

to an issue of legislation what might better have been allowed to rest undetermined. The attempt to define what was in



the nature of things undefinable, was but too apt to rouse the long-repressed rivalry of two great societies. And, viewed in another light, this extension of administrative reorganization

to America, however consonant it was to the spirit of enlightened despotism then making way upon the continent, seemed to American minds to savor rather more of despotism than of enlightenment.

Strength and character of the English colonies

For the American colonies were no longer what they had been even two generations earlier, and what most Englishmen doubtless still conceived them to be. Strengthened in numbers by immigration and the naturally rapid increase of a pioneer society; favored by nature and the salutary neglect of successive ministries, which had left them free to exercise their abilities in nearly every direction, the feeble frontier settlements had developed into a powerful community, well on its way to nationality. They still lacked, indeed, many characteristics of the European world; its greater social and industrial complexity; its powerful aristocratic and financial interests; but even here they had made beginnings. Still more they lacked the old world's literature and art, its music and drama, its educational facilities, its science and invention, though these, too, were not wholly wanting. The pioneer still held large place in their affairs; the soil was still their principal source of wealth. Greater equality of opportunity with greater freedom in society, the simpler means and manners of a new community in a state of rapid development, made them like and yet different from the society whence they sprung. Though far removed from the conditions of the tropical dependencies of the European powers, and with their various elements and possibilities not yet welded into a homogeneous whole, they were a people but not yet a nation, much less a state.

Yet many of the differences between the old-world order and the new were already fast disappearing in the longer settled colonies. There, on every hand, was rising an aristocracy of wealth from land and trade, not unlike that which had established itself in England. Statelier houses, finer furnishings and clothes, books, pictures, evidences of taste, among the northern merchants and southern planters, revealed growing resemblances to the older society and increasing inequalities in the new. These were but reflections of

progress in the economic field. Shipyards and little factories; mines and metal works; with handicrafts of many sorts, proclaimed an emergence from the pioneer and agricultural to the industrial stage. Newspapers and lawyers' offices, schools and colleges, in increasing numbers sprang up to meet the demands of altering circumstances in a community continually recruited by a steady stream of immigrants, reinforcing at once its numbers and variety, and strengthening its resources with the chief necessity of a new land—stout hearts and willing hands.

Already it was rising rapidly to a consciousness of its strength. The war which freed it from fear of the French and relieved it from the consequent close dependence on English rule, had contributed much both to its growth and its self-confidence. Its commerce flourished as it never had before. Its troops fought side by side with English regulars on not unequal terms. Their officers gained distinction and experience; and the colonists rightly regarded Havana and Louisburg as their triumphs no less than England's. Most of all, American spirit lost something of its provincialism in the struggle. Almost for the first time the men of different colonies were brought together in a common cause, and an impulse was given to new ambitions of more than provincial scope. Broader fields than their local assemblies afforded had not been altogether wanting hitherto. Some colonists had sat on governors' councils; some had held crown offices; a few were even now rising to governorships; even more had found employment abroad. Many had known the hard schooling of popular politics, where leaders fought their way to place and power by means still rare in England and unknown on the continent. To all, the war had opened wider vistas in the prospect of intercolonial activities, which not all the efforts of statesmen hitherto had been able to effect. Finally the association of the colonists against the common enemy, through actual co-operation and the personal contact of men from different colonies, became a powerful force in the ensuing development, at the same time that the failure and incapacity of expeditions like that of Braddock

diminished the respect of the colonials for British military efficiency.

Aristocracy and democracy in the colonies

The situation held another element. Despite what seemed to European eyes the simple and more equal conditions of a "natural" society, equality was more apparent than real in most of the colonies; for there was no open way for the talents in American politics. No insurmountable barriers, indeed, divided class from class, no pocket-borough system, no vested interest of crown or aristocracy prevailed, save in the appointment of royal officials. Yet the colonies were, none the less, far from pure democracy, and distinctions based on religion or on property were the rule rather than the exception in their electorates. Beside the oligarchy centering about the governor in nearly every colony, and the popular party which found its opportunity in the assemblies, each province held an unenfranchised class. Popular leaders, ambitious to control the whole machinery of government, came into conflict with the entrenched authority of those who held office from the crown. And it was no long step to oppose the authority which made their rivals' position invulnerable, and enlist in their cause the unprivileged classes by invoking the vague and powerful watchword of liberty, which then, as at all times, meant all things to all men. Every colony held a discontented element, social, political, economic; and it needed only a common cause to unite them against vested authority in whatever form.

Reorganization of the English colonial system 1760-3

Such was the condition of the community whose resources the English ministry sought to enlist, and over which it planned to strengthen its hold. The policy was not new, and the results of a century of experiment should have warned the English of its danger. But prudence was not Grenville's chief characteristic. Before the peace was signed, steps had been taken to tighten the reins. To check smuggling the revenue forces had been strengthened and the navy enlisted in their aid. The duties on molasses and sugar, which, as the raw materials for the New England rum distilleries, were the chief source of contention, were lowered so as to increase revenue and make illicit trade unprofitable. To make royal

officials independent of assembly grants, a permanent civil list had been proposed; to guard the frontiers a standing army was planned. Finally, to defray the cost of this establishment, a stamp tax on legal documents and newspapers was suggested for America.

Colonial opposition 1760-3

Already colonial protests against England's policy had been heard. In Boston, James Otis had vainly attacked the validity of the writs of assistance which enabled the civil authorities to call for naval and military aid in searching for smuggled goods. In Virginia, another lawyer, Patrick Henry, maintained the popular cause against the clergy who attempted to enforce their legal salary rights. When, following the peace, smuggling felt the pressure of the new measures, and quartering acts were passed to secure provision for the troops, not even the trade concessions which accompanied them, nor memory of recent appeals for help against Pontiac, softened colonial resentment. Though colonial agents, after a year's deliberation, offered no alternative save voluntary grants from the assemblies, which had already proved unsatisfactory; though the ill-fated measure was passed with "no more interest than a turnpike bill"; though opposition leaders like Pitt and Burke voiced no protest and few men thought it inexpedient or unjust; the dullest of politicians was soon undeceived. For the Stamp Act supplied what the dissatisfied elements in America had lacked, a common ground of opposition to the home government and a tangible instance of "tyranny."

The Stamp Act 1765

From the first New York and Boston had led in protest against the new policy; and scarcely had the Stamp Act become a law when the assemblies of Massachusetts and Virginia passed vigorous resolutions against it. The vocal elements of society—the lawyers and the press, on whom the new tax fell—were roused to fury. The interests attacked by the customs regulation joined in; clergy and debtors lent their voices with those of more unselfish patriots in opposition. In vain the ministers pointed out that the new revenue was to be spent within and for the colonies, adduced the powers of Parliament, the law and custom of colonial rule, the press-

Colonial opposition

ing exigency of imperial finance. Against them the American party of protest appealed to the law of nature and of God, to statute and common law, to charters and the inherent right of Englishmen not to be taxed without their own consent, hinting not indirectly at home rule. More ominous still, they began to organize. Almost alone among the opposition orators, Colonel Barré had protested in debate upon the act; hailing the colonists as Sons of Liberty. The phrase crossed the Atlantic and spread like wildfire through the colonies. Under that name the radical clubs and "caucuses" began to coalesce into a national society, reinforced by Masonic lodges, fire-companies, groups not hitherto formally organized, even by congregations here and there. At once committees were appointed to correspond with one another, concert joint action, and, in brief, to mold resistance. As they organized effective protest they became a power in general politics, provided popular leaders a wider field of influence, drew to themselves the discontented in every colony, and proceeded to the control of local, then of provincial government, thus forming the nucleus of a revolutionary force.

The Stamp Act Riots 1765

Under such circumstances and in such hands words passed to deeds. The stamp distributors were driven to resign. Stamps were destroyed or kept from circulation. Riots broke out and property was destroyed; while town after town saw a new emblem rise on its central green, the liberty tree or pole, where radical eloquence coined a new language of resistance to tyranny in speeches against English oppression. Measures were taken to check the use of English goods; and, more important still, before the year was out, a congress of representatives, for the most part Sons of Liberty, met in New York to devise fresh means of opposition to the act. In the face of this storm the government seemed powerless; the act became inoperative; outrages went unchecked; and for the time English authority was at a stand.

India 1760-70

This impotence was not wholly due to the American radicals. Coincident with the Stamp Act disturbances the ministry faced a series of difficulties at home and abroad, of which the chief was the situation in India demanding imme-

diate attention, and thus preserving the radicals in part from the more serious consequences of their acts. The recent gains had brought to the East India Company neither wisdom nor power competent to cope with the problems raised by the results of the war. Corruption and maladministration were the first fruits of victory; discord and jealousies weakened its counsels. The divided power of the three Indian presidencies aggravated by quarrels of Directors and Proprietors at home; the extortion of its agents in India joined to the increase of its dividends in the face of a declining revenue, had thrown its affairs into politics and finally brought them into Parliament for regulation. This was the more imperative in that the native princes were meanwhile roused to fresh activities. Sujah Dowlah gathered fresh forces. The rulers of Berar and Poona widened their boundaries and their pretensions; and though Mahratta and Rohilla raids were checked, these abetted by the ablest of Indian adventurers, Hyder Ali of Mysore, threatened the English supremacy on every side.

Clive 1765-67

Even so the Directors were with difficulty compelled to consent to the despatch of Clive as governor of Bengal to save the empire he had won. His brief administration coincided with the Stamp Act disturbances and was scarcely less important in imperial affairs. The mere terror of his name brought the Nawab to terms and the emperor to seek his protection. As a result, Oudh was secured to Sujah Dowlah on payment of indemnity, and to the Emperor, Shah Alam, in return for a concession of authority, was confirmed a pension and a principality; while the possession of his person, still sacred to millions, strengthened the Company's prestige. Meanwhile, the disaffected officers were overawed, the civil and military establishments reformed, salaries raised, presents and private trade prohibited. Most important of all, the Company secured the dewanee or financial rights in Bengal, Orissa, and Behar, and jurisdiction in the north Circars under imperial suzerainty; and thus, permitting the native rulers to retain their empty titles and dignities, the English laid the foundations of their actual sovereignty in the right

to tax. With the adoption of this policy, in the days when America seemed slipping from English grasp, was India preserved by its old conqueror.

It had been well for England if American affairs, or even domestic politics, could have enlisted such talents as those of Clive. But he returned to find a state from which strength seemed to have departed. Amid the struggle for supremacy between the crown and Whigs, the nation lacked at once a leader, a party, and a policy able to save the situation. All eyes turned naturally to Pitt, whom the king urged to form a ministry. But the great days of the great commoner were past. Hampered by circumstances alien to his genius, the coil of personal politics, and the defects of his own character, his efforts and his plans were vain. Still a popular idol, he had become an impracticable public man. His pride and self-sufficiency declined before disease into intolerable egotism. His occasional utterances, though they breathed a lofty spirit of imperial destinies, did little to solve imperial problems, less to heal domestic differences, least of all to conciliate the colonies. The eloquence which painted a glittering bow of promise across the stormy sky did as little to dispel its clouds as the projects of the financiers had done to find the pot of gold at the political rainbow's end. With no responsibilities he harassed those who would have carried out the policies he had himself earlier approved, drew difficult distinctions between the right to legislate and the right to tax, between external and internal revenue, and in every way encouraged the colonists to resist. Thus, within five years after the signature of a peace which made her the dominant power of the colonial world, England found herself confronted by a combination of political impotence at home and resistance abroad, which threatened at once the efficiency of her administration and the integrity of her Empire.

Pitt 1761-66

CHAPTER XXXV

THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION. 1768-1783

THE focus of the great revolutionary movement which was sweeping through every department of European life in the seventh decade of the eighteenth century was the British Empire. There, for the moment, was every element of the forces then altering the world to be found in its most significant form. There the Industrial Revolution had begun; and the Agricultural Revolution been largely accomplished. There the rationalists had established themselves, and the new reformation among the Protestant sects found full expression. There Adam Smith had commenced those labors which were to alter the whole progress of economic thought in a nation already set far on the way toward popular government by the upheavals of the seventeenth century and the writings of the school of Locke. There, above all, the old school of absolutism, in new guise, stood face to face with the advancing power of the people, who, beyond the sea, had set up self-governing communities. And there, as a result of the activities of George III, the antagonism between the old and new had now become acute.

Repeal of the Stamp Act

With the collapse of the attempt to impose a stamp tax on America, and the disorganization of the Whigs under the attack of the crown, there had come a moment of political anarchy. Ministry dissolved into ministry, like the swift changes of a kaleidoscope. Grenville, tormenting his sovereign by his well-deserved but unpalatable homilies, antagonizing the nation by unpopular taxes and his pursuit of Wilkes, gave way to Rockingham. The Stamp Act was repealed; and jubilant America ignored the accompanying Declaratory Act, which reaffirmed the right to tax the colonies, and celebrated its victory over the mother country.

1765-6

When Grafton followed Rockingham, with Pitt as the chief figure in the ministry, the American agitation gradually died out, and it seemed that all might yet be well. The radicals were correspondingly depressed, the ministry encouraged. But Pitt became a peer; his eloquence fell on dull ears among the Lords. His health grew worse. First virtually, then actually, he withdrew from politics; and the old practices revived. The fatal eloquence of an inexperienced Chancellor of the Exchequer, Charles Townshend, moved the Commons to lay duties on wines and paper, painters' colors, glass, and tea, a pitiful sum at best, to meet the charges of colonial establishment. Writs of assistance were revived; revenue cases transferred from provincial courts, where conviction was all but impossible, to admiralty jurisdiction; and customs' commissioners appointed for America. "A policy," said Napoleon, "may lead to a catastrophe without any real crime being committed"; and this was the case of America.

Changes in the ministry 1767

The Townshend Act 1767

With the Townshend Acts the hopes of colonial opposition revived. New York, under radical influence, refused provision for troops quartered there; Massachusetts petitioned against the Townshend measures and sent an appeal to the other colonies for aid. And even men like Washington, who had deprecated the Stamp Act disturbances, now declared that no man should hesitate to "maintain liberty with arms." So far had colonial opinion moved. Assemblies were suspended or dissolved in vain; while non-importation agreements were renewed in stronger terms, and enforced by the radical organization more rigorously than before. In turn the English government resorted to more extreme measures to compel obedience and suppress disturbances. Parliament passed resolutions looking toward the transfer of treason trials from colonial to English courts. The Boston revenue officers seized the sloop *Liberty,* owned by John Hancock, a rich merchant, friend and follower of the chief radical agitator, Samuel Adams, and long identified with illicit trade. Riots ensued, the officers were defied, and when troops were finally despatched from Halifax to enforce order, the town denied them quarters. The assembly, refusing to meet under

Colonial resistance 1768-70

threat of force, moved to Cambridge, and the crisis became acute.

The Grafton ministry at the same moment found itself equally unable to advance or retreat. The London mob had taken up Wilkes' cause, and was held down only by force. That ambitious Indian adventurer, Hyder Ali, threatened Madras and Bombay, reducing the Company's revenue and power in England and India. The inextricable quarrels in domestic politics made the situation impossible; and Grafton, in despair, resigned. Chatham endeavored vainly to form a ministry; and, as a last resort, the king summoned his friend and follower, Frederick, Lord North, to take the difficult and thankless post of prime minister.

Lord North 1770-82

Seldom has any man been brought to power less willingly or under less favorable auspices. Royal assumption of political leadership, the perennial Wilkes imbroglio, America and India, all presented difficulties of the first magnitude. The parliamentary situation was precarious; the popular discontent was great; financial questions pressed for solution; even the foreign horizon was far from clear. To deal with these the minister's following in the House was a heterogeneous company. Tories, king's friends, placemen, and pensioners, the Bedford Whigs, the old Newcastle following, and, presently, on George Grenville's death, his adherents, made up a restless and ill-assorted majority. Save for North himself, his ministry contained scarcely a man who had not once been a Whig,—and even North had served in a Whig government. This was not the least significant feature of the times. From his long struggle with the oligarchs the king had now emerged not merely victorious. The Whig organization no longer existed. Only a handful of Chathamites and Rockinghams opposed Lord North's ascendancy. The rest, in large measure, were absorbed in the new Tory Party which the king had created, and to which he had ensured a lease of power as long as that which the old Whigs had enjoyed.

Among his motley ministry the new leader stood almost alone in his disinterested honesty and ability, perhaps wholly

alone in the personal attachment to his sovereign which impelled him to accept and remain in office, and which was at once his weakness and his strength. Ablest of living English financiers, skilled in debate and parliamentary management, sensible, sympathetic, humorous, he was both efficient and beloved by the majority of Englishmen, of whose interests and opinions for the time he was perhaps the best representative. Like them he was committed to the colonial policy of the government which he had helped to frame, the regulation of imperial affairs, enforcement of the laws at home and abroad, defense of the frontiers, the reformation of colonial civil service and the East India Company, and the supremacy of Parliament and the crown.

The colonial radicals 1760-70

It was peculiarly unfortunate for any man holding these doctrines that he should come to power at the moment that the Americans discovered a formidable element opposed at almost every point to such a program, and encouraged by their previous success, prepared as never before to make their opposition effective. In the preceding decade this element had made scarcely less headway than the home government in formulating its first vague principles into a settled program; and in evolving organization and leadership it had accomplished much more. While English administration had been disorganized by political dissensions, the colonial "Whigs" or "patriots," as they called themselves, increased in numbers, unity, and influence, till, though probably at all times a minority, their energy and determination made them the dominating factor in American politics. Having gained the upper hand in nearly every provincial assembly, they had made their partisans colonial agents, and compelled governors and judges to recognize their power. In every district their agents and correspondents, spokesmen and newspapers enlisted support or silenced opposition by argument or force. From legal and constitutional precedent they appealed to a higher law, the origin and basis of society itself, and in particular, of their own society. Abandoning their earlier battle-cry, "no taxation without representation," they repudiated plans for admitting colonial delegates to Parliament,

and claimed for their assemblies equal rights with it under the crown. Thus they advanced from the older doctrine of parliamentary supremacy across a theory of personal union, like that which Scotland enjoyed during the seventeenth century, toward independence of all effective control.

English opinion

On their side were the doctrines of the rights of man, the immeasurable power of the appeal to liberty, the spirit of the age, the nature and sentiments of a new society, the circumstances of the time. Of these last none was more important than the character of English politics and the men who had directed them in the preceding decade, and were now in control. Of all the disadvantages under which England labored at the moment, the greatest was the lack of men of high statesmanship. It may be doubted whether in the state of the colonial mind at the accession of Lord North, any concession short of virtual independence would have satisfied the great majority of the radicals, as it is tolerably certain that anything that the mother country did would have been used as capital by the most advanced of their leaders at almost any time previous. But there were not many men in England, and no man in power there, who would have ventured to propose the abandonment of authority in America. The opinion of the Parliament, which, whatever else it did, and however it was composed, represented the English people's opinions in the great controversy, testified to England's determination to retain her authority over the colonies. Chatham and Burke thundered in vain, Fox blunted the keen edge of his eloquence on an unyielding majority; the opposition could muster more votes on almost any other question in politics than on America. Wilkes regained his seat in the House against the opposition of the court. In the face of its reactionary policy, reforms were instituted in many directions; but so long as there was any hope at all, England maintained what any nation so situated would have demanded—predominance over its possessions.

Colonial doctrines

Meanwhile, from the pages of Locke and of the forgotten Dr. Ellis, the Boston agitator, Adams, drew the inspiration of his utterances. The great pamphleteer of the middle colo-

nies, Dickinson, attacked the "innovations" of the ministries in terms that echoed the Puritan protest against the rule of the early Stuart kings. And, in Virginia, Henry invoked Cromwell against George III and Jefferson searched Rushworth for language and precedent to embody the new revolutionary spirit. Nor was it only from England's armory that weapons were drawn against her. Montesquieu, Beccaria, Burlamaqui, and lesser continental prophets, lent their aid to Rousseau in the conflict of argument. The natural sentiments of a new, self-made, and largely pioneer community scarcely needed this stimulant to its own interests and ambitions. "An innate spirit of freedom," wrote Washington, "first told me that the measures are repugnant to every principle of natural justice."

The Boston Massacre

But it could hardly be supposed that any nation would acquiesce in the destruction of long unquestioned legal rights of sovereignty by vague appeals to natural law and liberty, or would submit peacefully to the overthrow of its supremacy in its most valued possessions. Almost the first act of the new ministry had been to assert the English claim to the remote and useless Falkland Islands, seized for Spain by a too zealous governor of Buenos Ayres; and the national approbation of that act revealed an honest if jealous pride of sovereignty which was not likely to brook a challenge from its own dependencies. Scarcely was North in power when an unfortunate incident revealed the combustible elements with which he had to deal. A Boston mob, threatening an English guard, was fired upon and three men killed. Though the authorities disavowed the act and gave up the officer in command to trial; though he was defended by local lawyers and set free by local courts; the Boston Massacre, 1770
as it was promptly christened, embittered relations already too strained. Trumpeted through the colonies by the radicals, made the subject of a provocative print by one of their number, it did much to neutralize the repeal of the Townshend Acts, save for the tea duty, by which the ministry signalized its entry into power as an earnest of its conciliatory attitude toward the colonies. For it was evident that there was now

an element in America to which no concession short of independence, actual or virtual, was sufficient; and whose demands were absolutely inadmissible to the majority of the English people. Thenceforth any spark was almost certain to produce an explosion.

The tea duty and India

In the excitement fomented by the radicals, concession was ignored and the impost on tea was emphasized, and this became the next, and, as it was to prove, the deciding issue between the mother country and the colonies. To the English mind that tax was wholly defensible. It was retained first as an expression of Parliamentary supremacy. But it was more than that, for it was bound up with the ever-present problem of the East India Company, which had suddenly become again a leading issue of English and imperial politics. In the half dozen years since his return Clive's settlement had already broken down. The Company had increased its dividends while it defaulted its obligations to the government; and, with declining powers and revenues, it faced administrative and financial bankruptcy. The ablest of Indian administrators, Warren Hastings, was therefore hurried out as governor of Bengal, and with him began a new era of English authority in India. Reforming the civil service, he removed the Company's treasury to Calcutta, where he built the strongest of European fortresses in Asia, Fort William, to secure English authority. To the Nawab of Oudh he lent troops to help collect tribute from the Rohillas, in return for territory and a sum sufficient it was hoped to save the Company's credit.

Hastings 1774-85

Meanwhile the question came to Parliament, which, under North, had embarked on a career of constructive legislation to which that body had long been a stranger. It had already passed the Grenville Act, correcting the worst evils of election disputes. It was preparing to settle the government of Canada; and it now determined the question of the East India Company by the Regulating Act. Replacing the divided authority of the three presidencies by the appointment of the governor of Bengal as governor-general of India, and the establishment of a supreme court, it checked the reckless

1773

dividend policy of the Company, remitted its debt to the government, and tided over its embarrassment with a short term loan. Finally, to relieve its immediate necessities, a drawback of three-fifths of the duty on tea destined for America was allowed, in the belief that, by disposing of its huge surplus its burdens would be lightened, and that the smuggling trade, by which the Dutch supplied the colonists, would be made unprofitable and so checked, since the Americans would get cheaper tea. Thus were the two great currents of imperial policy—the commercial and the political—joined, as it was hoped for mutual benefit; and thus they came into touch with the movement of European thought as expressed in the transatlantic colonies.

The tea duty and America 1772

Never was a political device which seemed so beneficial and so reasonable destined to worse fate. A series of irritating circumstances combined, or devised, to check accommodation, was crowned meanwhile by the destruction of the revenue boat *Gaspee* by some of the inhabitants of the great smuggling center, Providence, whom royal officials attempted in vain to convict of the deed. The drawback on tea was hailed by the radicals as an insidious attempt to secure by bribery the recognition of the right to tax which England had failed to enforce by other means. The tea was sent, but Philadelphia and New York turned back the ships. Charleston stored the chests in cellars, where the contents spoiled; and at Boston a group of radical members of a Masonic lodge boarded the tea ships and threw their cargoes into the sea. This act of defiance was accompanied by an attack on Governor Hutchinson. His removal was demanded by the assembly; his letters to the ministry were stolen. And, coming into the hands of Franklin, the agent for Massachusetts, New York, and Pennsylvania, they were published in America to fan the flame of discontent, since they counseled the strengthening of English authority, and described unflatteringly the Boston radical leaders as they appeared to their most eminent fellow-townsman:

1773

The Boston Port Bill 1774

The ministry and the English people generally were naturally roused to action by these events, and bills were hurried

through Parliament, by great majorities, closing the port of Boston, annulling the Massachusetts charter, and enabling the government to try those accused of capital crimes outside the colony where the deeds were done. General Gage, commander of the forces in America, was despatched from Halifax to supersede Hutchinson, troops were hurried to the scene of conflict, and Boston was put under martial law. At the same time the government of Canada was settled by the Quebec Act, establishing a governor and council there and confirming the Catholic establishment in its ancient rights. The able and popular Carleton was appointed governor, and the French colonists conciliated.

1774

The organization of colonial resistance

In their turn the American radicals roused to fresh activity. Their local organizations took on the form of committees of public safety, whose committees of correspondence revived their chain of communications with new vigor. The same principle was extended to the provincial assemblies now largely controlled by the same element. Through such influences the Bostonians who had done so much to keep this spirit and organization alive, sought and found support. Salem opened its warehouses to the Boston merchants; resolutions of sympathy and promises of support came in from every side, and every Massachusetts county held a convention of protest. That of Suffolk County, in which Boston was situated, voiced the opinion of Adams and his party in declaring that no obedience was due the measures framed by a wicked administration to enslave America, and called for a congress of the colonies. The whole radical organization echoed the demand, and in September, 1774, the first Continental Congress met in Philadelphia.

The First Continental Congress 1774

With it the development of opposition to the English policy reached its last pacific stage. From scattered local opposition to vested authority, through the consolidation effected by the Stamp Act to concerted control of provincial politics, came delegates from the committees of safety of the Sons of Liberty to form, in effect, a continental executive committee of safety, a central assembly of the radical party. Formulating the doctrines and policy which had evolved

through a decade of controversy into a program, their declarations and resolves denounced England's attempt to raise revenue in America, to establish an independent civil service, to take colonists abroad for trial, or to dissolve provincial assemblies. They asserted their rights as Englishmen to legislate for themselves since adequate representation in Parliament was impossible, to assemble and petition, to be free from standing armies in time of peace, from royal councils at all times, and, above all, from taxes laid by Parliament. They declared the revenue acts, the coercive measures, even the Quebec Act, since it legalized Catholicism, to be unconstitutional and unjust. They prepared addresses to the crown and the English people, to Florida, to Georgia, which had sent no delegates, to the West Indian colonies, even to the Canadians, whose religion they had just denounced, asking for support. Finally, to give their principles force, they founded an association to sever commercial relations with Great Britain until their grievances were redressed. Under its authority the committees of public safety were directed to observe the conduct of all persons toward the association, inspect entries, and enforce the embargo by all means within their power.

The appeal to arms

The revolutionary organization was now complete. It had set up a central authority, supported by a widespread and powerful system of local committees. It had passed a legislative act which was a declaration of economic war in defiance of English constituted authority. It had called on its members to execute its orders; and it had, within the imperial boundaries, attempted a kind of diplomatic negotiation with the other colonies, inciting them to similar resistance. Almost immediately to these activities was added another of even more significance. The Massachusetts assembly, dissolved by Gage as a seditious body, met as a provincial congress, and took steps to resist his authority. Acting under the same influences which inspired it and the Continental Congress, a similar spirit became manifest in the other colonies; and before the end of the year it was evident that, unless some unforeseen circumstance intervened,

the preparations then under way must lead to an appeal to arms.

It was in vain that efforts were made to stem or avert the tide of the oncoming war; all attempts to localize or evade the issue failed. The colonists did not, indeed, lack allies in the mother country. The Irish, looking forward to home rule, favored their cause; merchants fearful for their trade favored anything which would secure its continuance; Chatham, Burke, and Fox led a forlorn hope of anti-Imperialists in Parliament. But the bitterness of the attack upon the government was only equaled by its futility. Though Wilkes succeeded in having the resolution against him expunged from the Commons' records; though crown influence was openly and successfully attacked; though two general elections offered an opportunity to overthrow the ministry; the English people, if united on nothing else, followed the king and minister to the bitter end on this issue. Such widely different spirits as Edward Gibbon, John Wesley, and Samuel Johnson, with scarcely any other common ground, found themselves in accord with each other and their countrymen in this. "We are," said North, "no longer to dispute between legislation and taxation but to consider only whether or not we have any authority in the colonies." And to this there could scarcely be but one reply.

The battle of Lexington and Concord 1775

While, then, the ministry made some effort to conciliate, it none the less prepared for war. Such colonies as agreed to contribute to their own defense and government were promised exemption from duty or tax save those that regulated trade. More troops were hurried to Boston. The town was fortified; and a bill restraining New England's commerce was passed by large majorities. As the war spirit spread through America, the prohibition was extended to the other colonies. Promise and threat alike were vain. In April, 1775, troops sent by Gage to seize provincial military stores were met by local levies called to arms by Boston revolutionary leaders, and armed conflict began in earnest.

The fight at Lexington and Concord Bridge was no mere clash of British regulars with an enraged countryside, as it

appeared to unobservant eyes. Behind the "embattled farmers" stood an organization and a policy less complete, indeed, than that of England, yet far from despicable either in numbers, discipline, or armament. For it had not rested with the establishment of civil authority and the declaration of economic and legislative independence; as the controversy deepened it had prepared a military force. Existing colonial militia had been recruited and drilled; arms and ammunition had been bought abroad and smuggled in, despite the English efforts to prevent, by vessels long accustomed to that trade, or through Canada and Florida. Months before the first engagement, forts guarding harbors like Portsmouth had been seized and their armament and stores secured.

So smoothly and rapidly did the plans of rebellion work that three weeks after the fight at Lexington, the fortresses of Crown Point and Ticonderoga were in revolutionary hands, a rapidly increasing army was encamped near Boston, and a second Continental Congress was in session at Philadelphia. Two months after the first shot was fired, the Americans seized and fortified Bunker Hill commanding Boston, and with the attack and capture of that strategic point by the British the war began in form. And it was not the least significant feature of that hard-fought engagement that the drums which had beat at Louisburg now led the colonists at Bunker Hill, while the great captain who now assumed the leadership of the revolutionary army had commanded the party which, twenty-three years before, fired the first shot of the Seven Years' War in the remote wilderness about the frontier post then known as Fort Duquesne.

Bunker Hill

The conflict then begun was not, as we see now, the desperate, unanimous rising of an oppressed continent driven to rebellion by unbridled and unbearable tyranny, as patriotic historians, following the lead of revolutionary orators, long pictured it. Still less, perhaps, was it the first step in the conscious, deliberate attempt of a despotic king bent on the destruction of English liberties, and beginning his maleficent design with the subjugation of America, as the Whigs declared. The liberties of England, which had survived the

Character of the war

Stuart rule, were no such weakly growths as that view implies; the American grievances were far from the insupportable miseries which have driven other peoples to like courses. The Revolution was the translation into arms of thoughts and interests long tending consciously and unconsciously to rupture, the culmination of antagonisms, old and new, perhaps inevitable, between two powerful forces of society, and two conflicting doctrines of government. Though no one was then conscious of the fact, it was but the first blow in a world-wide struggle against existing order, social no less than political. For nearly sixty years this was to convulse three continents in almost constant war, involving the whole European world, and finally altering not merely the political destinies of both hemispheres, but the whole fabric of European society. It was no mere conflict between a mother country and her colonies; behind their rivalry lay the antagonism of great classes and interests in every state, which soon or late were to contend for power.

Resources of the combatants

Nothing could have been more typical of this than the conduct of the ensuing war. Neither England nor the colonies were well prepared, much less desirous for a long conflict; neither anticipated such a contingency. The one counted on the speedy suppression of ill-organized resistance; the other on the recognition of its claims before the threat of arms. Both were destined to disappointment. Under the most favorable auspices the complete subjection of a united America would have been as hopeless as the attainment of complete independence without some outside aid by a community so divided as America. Though the contest seemed unequal, its inequality was not as great as it appeared. Of all the great European powers England was the least prepared for war. If the preceding decade of her politics had checked constructive legislation, it had well-nigh paralyzed her fighting arm. Lack of continuity in policy, wasteful retrenchment, corruption, and sheer neglect, were emphasized by the baneful intrusion of social rank and political partisanship into every department of public service. These were crowned by the antagonism of many of her officers

to the government which they served and to the policies they were set to carry out.

English weakness

England was incapable of supplying troops enough for the American enterprise by enlistment or from her own establishment without greatly weakening her garrisons throughout the world. She therefore resorted to her usual practice and engaged from petty German states the necessary complements, known generically as Hessians. These, with the irregular levies furnished by her Indian allies, provided the revolutionaries fresh ground of grievance; and in that they helped to make the quarrel irreconcilable, they weakened England's moral position more than they aided her military power. Nor was she more fortunate in her commanders. Able administrators were scarcely to be expected under existing conditions in the world of politics. Her navy revealed a wealth of mediocrity, and worse; while the bitter epigram attributed to Walpole, and not unnaturally reattributed to North, measured the zeal and capacity of her chief army officers. "I do not know," he said, "whether my generals will frighten the Americans, but they certainly frighten me."

1775

Difficulties and mistakes of English strategy

Under such circumstances the successful conduct of any war would have been difficult. In the present instance it was all but impossible, for such a war as this the world had never seen. Separated by three thousand miles of sea from its theater, operating through a thousand miles of wilderness or sparsely settled land, almost devoid of roads, against men accustomed to arms and the guerilla tactics of the woods, experienced officers from the first regarded the whole adventure as an "ugly business." In no long time it developed into "the grave of reputations." Had English strategy been based, like Pitt's campaigns, upon the sea, as able men advised; had ports been blocked, the more violent districts occupied, and the crisis allowed to work itself out, the result might well have been different. But invasion, and especially the later policy of plundering expeditions, served only to rouse successive neighborhoods to resist the foreign enemy, and gradually to unite opinion and arms against the mother country, depriving her of the support of thousands who were

anxious to befriend her cause. Many more who were indifferent to whatever constitutional question was involved, took arms to drive out the troops which threatened their own homes. The unorganized loyalists, or "Tories," were either compelled to join the invaders, suppress their own opinions, or suffer the bitterest of persecutions, that of their own neighbors. Thousands were driven to emigration. Their property confiscated and their homes destroyed, they settled for the most part in lands provided for them in Canada. Thousands more entered the British ranks. But neither their presence there nor in the neighboring colony compensated the mother country for the destruction of a great part of the best element in the revolting colonies, while the economic and social loss to the community from which they were driven was incalculable. That loss was not without its compensation on the political side. It seems hardly probable that, had the loyalists remained, America could have developed quickly or easily a real democracy—at least such a democracy as she has created. And, if that be reckoned as a gain, it must go far toward justifying the expulsion of the loyalists.

Measured by later standards, the military operations of the ensuing war are not imposing. The issues at stake, the circumstance that small forces at the extremity of empire produce results out of proportion to their size, above all, the later development of the United States, make the American Revolution bulk large in the eyes of later generations. Nor was its ultimate success due in any considerable degree to those agitators who roused the opposition to the English rule. Without them it would, perhaps, never have occurred, but had it depended on their efforts alone it would have ended as it began, in words. To the more dangerous, enduring temper of the fighting men, to their valor and skill, the cause owed what strength it possessed. In particular to the commander, without whom its ultimate success would have been inconceivable, and to the allies whose hatred of England enlisted them on the side of America, was due the strength of the colonial cause.

Among the many events reckoned the turning-points of the struggle, one stands pre-eminent. Two days before the battle of Bunker Hill, George Washington of Virginia was commissioned commander-in-chief of the army, and three weeks later he took up his duties. Of planter ancestry, trained in the hard school of frontier war, the wealthiest and most distinguished figure in America, brave, patient, resolute in a desperate cause, great as were his abilities, his character was greater still. The typical product of his time and circumstance, he was superior to both. The highest representative of a new form of European stock since known as "colonial," he was not merely the greatest figure which the war produced, he was the greatest European yet born outside of Europe. Washington 1775

The cause for which he fought had need of him. Whatever the capacity of popular leaders to bring on the war, they all but exhausted their mandate with that achievement. The Congress, which now became their chief authority, found its strength taxed to maintain its own existence. It had not merely to provide for defense, it had to erect a government, create and enforce its authority at home and gain recognition abroad, while its very life depended on circumstances over which it had small control or none. It lacked experience in great affairs, as well as in the conduct of regular administration. It had to deal with state governments which had risen on the ruins of provincial establishments and were little disposed to subordinate local to general interest. Without foreign support or credit, without money or power to tax, its chief concern was diplomacy, finance, and war, and only in the first did it achieve any considerable success. It could summon forces for such exploits as the siege of Boston, since threatened states or neighborhoods would rally to resist invasion; but the troops, ill armed, worse disciplined, needed nearly all the qualities which distinguish an army from a mob. To organize, equip, and maintain a permanent force, establish discipline, hold it together, in the face of defeat, privation, and discouragement, and make it fight, was beyond Congress' power. This was the task of Washington. Congress

The war 1776

Amid difficulties of every sort, he and his officers, during the nine months' siege of Boston which followed the battle of Bunker Hill, strove to mold an army from the material at their command, while Congress found means to carry on the war. Before the outgeneraled British troops were finally forced to evacuate the town and sail for Halifax, both were in some degree achieved. The expeditions of the colonists against Canada failed to capture its strongholds or seduce the French Canadians from their new allegiance. Meanwhile, too, England had made her preparations, and when the Howes appeared with thirty thousand men and a convoying fleet off Long Island, swept Washington's inferior force aside, and occupied New York, it seemed that the power which had but lately humbled France would crush colonial resistance with even greater ease.

The Declaration of Independence 1776

Yet in the face of the threatened collapse of its fortunes by the destruction of the army on which its life depended, Congress took the final step. It projected a constitution, as a result of a vote to suppress royal authority in the various provinces, and of resolutions looking toward absolving themselves from allegiance to the crown. And on July 4, 1776, Thomas Jefferson of Virginia read and Congress adopted a Declaration of Independence.

It was a momentous document. Conceived in the spirit of Rousseau, whose doctrine of natural rights infused its preamble; formed on the model of the Grand Remonstrance which a hundred years before had voiced England's grievances against Charles I; this able and adroit pronunciamento, at once a statement of principles and the subtlest of appeals to American sentiment and prejudice, was much the most important state paper which the colonial world had yet produced. It was couched in language which breathed the loftiest sentiments of humanity, and appealed to every emotion of justice and liberty against despotic tyranny. It arraigned the English king for all the crimes committed by Parliament in stifling colonial development and endeavoring to destroy its inalienable rights. It summoned all those touched in their principles or interests to resist, and the

sonorous splendor of its phraseology, no less than its immortal sentiments, shedding their magic over perverted history and partisan statement of the existing situation till they were transformed into rhetorical fact, make it a model of all such appeals. Not England itself had ever given birth to such a powerful instrument of rebellion. However vague its political philosophy, however weak its historical basis, however distorted its charges of fact, it became the inspiration of the conflict which produced it and remains a far-sounding trumpet-blast of liberty.

Howe's incapacity

Yet, had the English commander been capable and determined, its summons would have been vain, for its defiance was accompanied by disaster to the arms of the cause it so ably voiced. Deprived of their control of Lake Champlain, driven from their position on the Hudson, the main revolutionary army under Washington was compelled to retire southward before Howe's superior forces, and only a daring surprise of the enemy's winter quarters encouraged the colonists to go on. Had Howe persisted in his pursuit, had he not held his hand when the Americans were within his grasp, the single barrier which stood between the revolutionary cause and destruction would have been forced. But the English commander delayed, procrastinated, wasted time and opportunity, till both were gone beyond recall. While he tarried, what the English Parliament or even the revolutionary agitators could not do, had been accomplished by wanton and fruitless invasion, as district after district was roused by the appearance of a hostile force.

1776-7

French aid

Meanwhile, congressional agents had been busy abroad. There was one power from which help might reasonably have been expected, and to that power application was early made. France, humiliated, bankrupt in credit and colonies, her prestige impaired, her pride touched, could not, indeed, hope to regain the territory which she had lost a dozen years before. But her statesmen, especially the able and adroit Choiseul, had kept in sight the prospect of revenge. His plans had been continued under Vergennes, and France was hopeful of the present crisis. Yet the prospect so long fore-

seen was still so dubious and uncertain that when it came her ministers at first hesitated to embark upon so unpromising an enterprise. What they had not ventured openly they did not scruple to do by stealth. Under the transparent guise of a private company the French politician-dramatist, Beaumarchais, and the Connecticut promoter-diplomat, Deane, professing to deal with Bermuda, shipped small arms, cannon, and supplies, despite the protests of the English, and so kept the colonial resistance alive.

1774-6

European volunteers 1777

To this traffic events soon gave a more serious and important turn. The most astute of all Americans, Franklin, won the sympathy of the French public; the young Marquis de Lafayette, with other noblemen, selected from a host of volunteers, embarked for America at their own expense. Experienced soldiers were enlisted—the French Baron de Kalb, the Pole Pulaski, the German Steuben—to organize, drill, and marshal the American levies into a force able to contend with British regulars on equal terms, and the New Model of the colonists, under such auspices, gradually took on more dangerous form.

Howe and Washington 1777

Finally, the events in America brought these activities to the test. Howe, having failed to crush or capture Washington, a campaign was planned to hold New York and Philadelphia, and at the same time cut off New England from the other colonies by an expedition from Montreal, which, making its way along the Richelieu, Lakes Champlain and George, should join hands with like expeditions from New York and from the west along the Mohawk. The first part of the program offered few obstacles. Washington's weak forces were still no match for Howe, and, easily defeated, they were forced to abandon Philadelphia. They lost the forts commanding the Delaware, failed to surprise the British again, and, as Howe took up his winter quarters in the American capital, whence Congress had fled, Washington led his dispirited and suffering troops to the hardships of a winter in the huts of Valley Forge.

The Burgoyne expedition 1777

Never had the American cause appeared more hopeless, yet the tide had already turned. While Burgoyne's army of British and Hessians made its triumphant way past the forts

guarding the route to the Hudson, which surrendered or were abandoned at his approach, and St. Leger with his motley Indian and English force advanced from the west, the Americans had retired on Saratoga. But no aid came from the British commander in New York. A raid on Bennington to recruit his failing supplies roused the Vermonters to inflict defeat and loss upon the Hessians. The Indian allies began to withdraw, while from every side reinforcements flocked to join the colonial army under Schuyler and Gates. In such circumstances Burgoyne, abandoned by those on whom he had relied, was forced to fight under adverse conditions of every sort, and twice defeated, was finally compelled to surrender his entire force. Oct. 17

It was a fatal blow. Scarcely had the news of this reverse to English arms reached France when Vergennes hurried forward the treaties which brought French power to aid the Americans. Spain held back for a time, but presently entered the alliance; and when Washington's army emerged from the sufferings of Valley Forge, it found the whole status of the cause for which it fought had altered. Already conciliatory proposals had been introduced in Parliament by North. Commissioners had been despatched to offer the Americans the repeal of the coercive acts, a general amnesty, and every right short of entire independence. But conciliation and commissioners alike came too late. Neither received a hearing, and England, failing in her tardy attempt to divide her enemies and preserve her colonies at the expense of her sovereignty, made ready with a heavy heart to face again a world of enemies. Though refusing to ally herself with the United States, Spain presently declared war in concert with France. Holland, which had aided the Americans from the first by throwing open her West Indian ports to the exchange of tobacco and other colonial products for munitions of war, followed suit; and, to crown England's misfortunes, the states of northern Europe took advantage of her embarrassment to injure her by forming a league of Armed Neutrality against her pretensions on the sea.

The French treaty 1778

Spain and Holland 1779-80

These circumstances, with the decline of her credit in the

face of new demands on her resources, put her on the defensive. None the less, from necessity as from choice, she pursued the war. A new commander, Rodney, was appointed to command the fleet; Clinton replaced Howe at the head of the army; and the old plan of seizing the French West Indies was revived with a new plan of land campaign. Philadelphia, the Capua of the Revolution, was abandoned; and Washington's attack on the retiring English troops was the last engagement fought in the north. Thereafter, three other circumstances combined to change the character of the war. The first was the despatch of a French force under Count Rochambeau. Its arrival at Newport, with the operations of d'Estaing's fleet, which returned from its conquests in the West Indies, cleared New England of English troops, at the same time that Philadelphia was lost to them. The second was the concurrent loss of the western posts, save Detroit, to the Americans under George Rogers Clark. The third was the progress of the adoption of those Articles of Confederation, which Congress had drawn up immediately following the Declaration of Independence, as the basis of union and constitutional government.

The Articles of Confederation 1776-80

Loose as was the bond, feeble as were the powers of the proposed central authority, the particularist spirit of the old colonial divisions was so strong that not even the pressure of the war had greatly prevailed on the separatists in the various states to consent to any curtailment of local powers. Thus the necessary ratification by the separate states had dragged its slow way with small success and little interest. Now, however, the recognition of independence by foreign powers and the prospect of their aid gave impetus to union. And, though this was long delayed by provincial jealousies over conflicting claims to western lands, the closing years of the war saw the ratification of the Articles and the consequent establishment of a central government.

Meanwhile, the conflict proceeded to its final phase. The English hold on New England and the middle colonies had now been broken, the Hudson lost, and Georgia overrun by the Americans. Their plundering expeditions from New York

The last phase—the surrender of Cornwallis 1780-1

accomplished little but the destruction of property and the exasperation of the colonists; their own coasts were terrified by the exploits of the American naval commander, Paul Jones; and at the solicitation of the southern loyalists, the British turned to that quarter of the continent. Charleston was occupied, and from there Cornwallis, with his lieutenant, Tarleton, despite occasional reverses, drove the Americans before them. Marching north from the Carolinas to join hands with the other British forces in Virginia, the brilliant campaign was brought to a sudden and untimely end. The French fleet outmanœuvered the British admiral and forestalled the arrival of Clinton's too long delayed reinforcements from New York, on whose assistance Cornwallis had relied. The Chesapeake was blockaded. Washington and Lafayette, eluding Clinton's relaxed vigilance, hurried their forces to co-operate with the French fleet. Cornwallis found himself abandoned and entrapped; and, after attempting in vain to defend himself on the peninsula of Yorktown, was compelled to surrender his army to the allies. Oct. 19 1781

It was the crowning blow. The drum-major who ordered his men to play a popular air, "The World turned upside down," as the British defiled from their entrenchments, was a true prophet of the great event. Though two years were still to intervene before the treaties were signed which recognized the independent existence of the United States of America, now added to the nations of the earth, Cornwallis' surrender determined the result. And not that alone: North's ministry, long tottering to its fall, was overthrown; 1782 and the confusion of the successive coalition governments paralyzed the state until the accession of the younger Pitt 1784 brought order out of chaos with the rise of the new Tory Party to a long lease of power. Before that was achieved, Ireland had taken advantage of English embarrassments to 1782 organize a force of volunteers, nominally to protect herself against threatened invasion. With that force she was able to extort recognition of parliamentary independence from the English government, and a species of home rule which endured two decades.

India 1782

At the same time, England had lost most of her gains in the West Indies to the French. In India, Hyder Ali, who had already occupied the Carnatic, was reinforced by Suffren in command of a French squadron. And though Gibraltar, which had long been besieged by Spain, was relieved by

1780-3

Rodney's victory over the Spanish fleet and saved by Elliot's splendid defense; though England regained command of the Channel, which had meanwhile almost slipped from her grasp; almost simultaneously she lost Minorca on the one side of the Atlantic and Florida and the Bahamas on the other. With this, however, the tide turned, and as she was relieved from the pressure of the American war, and thus enabled to throw her strength against her European enemies, she regained something of her old position and power. The

1782

defeat of de Grasse's fleet by Rodney preserved her greater West Indian possessions from capture. The death of Hyder

The Peace of Paris and Versailles 1783

Ali removed her most dangerous enemy in India; and when the Peace of Paris and Versailles was signed she lost, indeed, her American colonies, but she was able to retain more of her old possessions than two years before would have seemed possible.

With it came new alignment of frontiers. Spain kept Florida and Minorca; France recovered her East Indian posts, with St. Lucia and Tobago in the West Indies, Senegal and Goree in Africa; and the United States secured the rights of fishery, and the western lands as far as the Mississippi and Florida, with privilege of navigation to the Gulf. For the rest, the British Empire remained as before; and, however fallen in territory, credit, and prestige from the proud state which twenty years before emerged triumphant from the Seven Years' War, England was still the leading colonial power of the world, and, in the interval of peace, she turned to adjust domestic and imperial concerns in which the crisis of recent events had shown the fundamental necessity of reform. In such fashion was concluded the war of the American Revolution, which, as Frederick the Great declared, was the most important European event of its time!

Longitude from Greenwich West
Longitude from Greenwich East
NORTH AMERICA
BRITISH NORTH AMERICA
GREENLAND
ICELAND
New Foundland
ATLANTIC OCEAN
PACIFIC OCEAN
PACIFIC OCEAN
SOUTH AMERICA
AFRICA
INDIAN OCEAN
RUSSIA
SIBERIA
MONGOLIA
MANCHURIA
CHINESE EMPIRE
JAPAN
TURKESTAN
PERSIA
TIBET
CHINA
INDIA
SIAM
AUSTRALIA
SEA OF OKHOTSK
SAHARA DESERT
Hawaii Is.
Sandwich Is.
Marquesas Is.
Society Is.
Falkland Is.
Cape Verde Is.
Philippine Islands
Solomon Is.
Fiji Is.
New Hebrides
New Caledonia
New Zealand
THE EUROPEAN WORLD
AT THE PEACE OF
PARIS AND VERSAILLES.
1783
Approximate routes of Capt. Cook's three voyages
1768 - 1771. 1772 - 1775. 1776 - 1780

CHAPTER XXXVI

THE EUROPEAN REVOLUTION. 1768-1789

THE period of a little more than twenty years which elapsed between the passage of the ill-fated Townshend Acts by the English Parliament and the final steps in the organization of the American colonies into an independent state, marks the last great turning-point in the long road from mediæval to modern forms of thought and action in the world's affairs. Its most dramatic circumstance was, of course, the conflict between England and her colonies. But the American Revolution was by no means the only event of importance in those momentous years, nor the independence of the United States of America the only great result of the period. Seldom within so brief a time has Europe had the foundations of her beliefs and traditions so profoundly altered, or the long-standing practices of her every-day life so rudely disturbed. Had there been no revolt of the colonies this would still have been an era of eminent significance in European history.

The European revolution

On the continent itself the year in which the Americans finally appealed to arms was characterized by a series of events which determined for the moment many activities whose origin had long preceded the American revolt, and pointed to the future. That twelvemonth saw the final blow struck against the Jesuits, and the occupation of Ottoman territories by Russia and Austria which indicated the beginning of Turkish decline. It saw the accession of Louis XVI and his Austrian wife to the French throne and the inheritance of misfortune which it entailed. At the same time the enactment of the India Bill and the appointment of Warren Hastings as the first governor-general of India marked the initial step in the reorganization, and, as it proved, the extension of English power in the East. Mean-

European affairs 1774

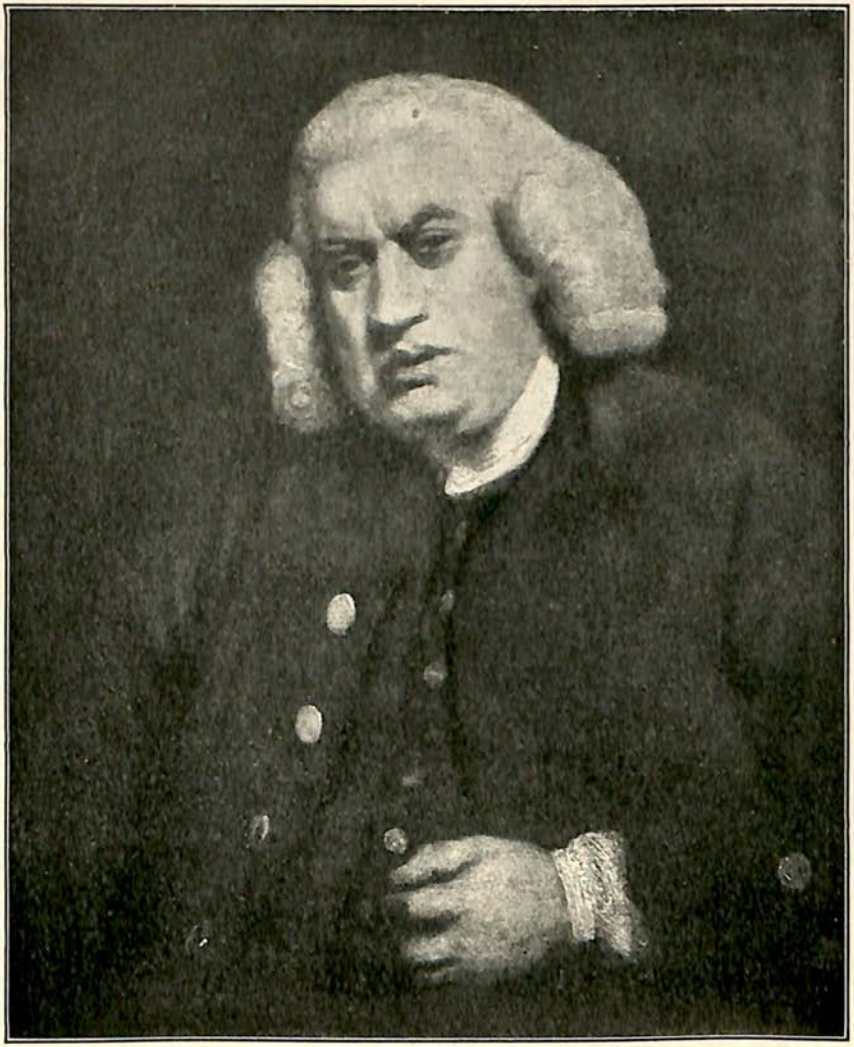
while, James Cook returned from the second of those voyages which not only directed English attention to the Pacific and resulted in the settlement of Australia, but, by his discovery that scurvy, the curse of seamen before his time, could be prevented by means of simple changes in diet, added, as it were, a new realm to human activity. Finally, the passage of the Quebec Act began the modern history of Canada.

Painting 1760-89

Still more than these activities in politics, the concurrent developments in the fields of art and intellect exemplified and contributed to the transition now taking place in the European world. In England, a great school of portrait painters, headed by Reynolds, Romney, and Gainsborough, achieved new triumphs in a remarkable combination of modest and graceful naturalness. Meanwhile, Greuze and Boucher and Fragonard continued the more sophisticated naturalism of Watteau in France, where the luxury and licentiousness of the court vitiated morals and taste alike. Continued by Reynolds' followers, Raeburn, Lawrence, and the American Copley, the English "natural" school was reinforced by a group of landscape painters who furthered the reaction against artificiality, and contributed to the "return to nature" fresh sources of strength. And there is perhaps no better evidence of the feeling that man was now at last prepared to meet nature on at least equal terms than the increasing tendency of art and literature to depict her fiercer moods. It was sure confirmation of the fact that man was no longer afraid of his ancient antagonist.

—pastel and water-color

The artistic revival was further strengthened by new mediums of expression. From the preceding centuries had come an art not unrelated to crayon drawing, that of painting in "pastel," or dry color. It rose to eminence in the eighteenth century. Nearly every artist of note, from Watteau to the greatest of the pastelists, Liotard, tried his hand at it, and so established it firmly in the taste and technique of the continent. Allied to pastel was painting in water-color, which owes its origin to this period. This art developed from the old practice of washing in pen-drawings. By substituting paper for canvas, and achieving a variety of effects impossible



SAMUEL JOHNSON.

After the painting by Joshua Reynolds. A good example of 18th century costume and portraiture. Compare with Luther and Calvin, vol. I, p. 208, the Colignis, vol. I, p. 298, and with Frans van der Borcht, vol. I, p. 398.

to oils, it extended the field of pictorial representation in another and, as it was to prove, a peculiarly popular direction. For the moment it lent itself particularly to the genius of those last exponents of the expiring rococo style, "the painters of frivolity," who, like Fragonard, devoted their talents to the delineation of beaux and belles, and amatory situations of the high society which for the moment led continental art in its train.

Neither graphic nor plastic art kept pace with the progress of painting, despite the encouragement of royal and noble patronage, the establishment of great galleries, new educational facilities, and the revival of classical models which had followed on the achievements of the archæologists. The genius of David, "the regenerator of French painting," was, indeed, profoundly affected by this last influence; while that of Canova, "third greatest of Italian sculptors," owed much of its inspiration to the same source. With the entry of such men into the field, the vogue of that school which catered to the patronage of the French court and was represented in the beautiful if decadent productions of Fragonard, began to decline. But with the death of Hogarth the talents of his successors were unequal to maintaining line-drawing at the level which he had reached; and though engraving increased in quantity, it was at the expense of its quality. 1764

In another direction, however, not unrelated to general artistic progress, this was a notable period. Classical models in architecture, as in other fields, were still prominent, though a century of development had greatly modified their earlier and more uncompromising outlines. The eighteenth century had seen them adapted with much success to domestic building; and their influence had been especially marked in decoration, both interior and exterior. No small part of the principles known among Anglo-Saxon peoples as Georgian or colonial owe their origin to the last half of this eighteenth-century classical adaptation. In particular, the work of the English architect, Adam, typifies the movement of the time; not merely on account of the buildings which he designed, but because it was connected in his hands with another art Furniture 1728-92

whose development makes this period memorable. For, not content with building, he devoted his talents to furnishing, and so put himself in touch with the making of furniture, which reached its golden age in the era of the American Revolution.

This art or craft was influenced not a little by the passion for eastern, in particular Chinese, products, which characterized the taste of the mid-eighteenth century. As architecture was reinforced by the use of stucco, so furniture-making was aided by the introduction and improvement in finishing materials, derived largely from tropical gums whose names, varnish and lacquer, betray their eastern origin. The brilliant if unsubstantial grace of the styles developed in France under Louis Quinze and Louis Seize, and known by their names, owed much of their charm to the marvelous lacquer invented and used by the family of furniture-makers, from whom it derived its name, Vernis Martin. In England, meanwhile, the successive labors of the Chippendales, Sheraton, and the Adams brought the art of furniture-making to the greatest heights it had yet attained. In the work of such men was found a mingling of many styles and many influences, classic, Gothic, oriental, rococo, to produce masterpieces which have stood the test of the changing tastes of more than a century, and remain the models of elegance and sound construction. In such hands formalism was at once relieved and refined, and pronounced advance was made in a not unimportant and certainly an interesting and useful art.

Music

In some measure and on a greater scale the same was true of another phase of human activity, that of music, which now entered on one of the greatest periods of its history. Though Handel had passed away, the oratorio continued its development, in England especially; while its democratic influence was now promoted in a different quarter and by

1707-93

different means. The work of the Italian Goldoni at once elevated light opera to the level of a high art and made it a factor in modern life. It did more. Drawing its motives and characters from the same elements which Molière had earlier exploited in the drama, it put the operatic stage in

touch with every-day life, and strengthened the connection of music with the popular movement which was then influencing almost every department of human existence.

But it was neither in English nor Italian hands that there came the most remarkable triumphs of music in these years. For a century Germany had held high place in that field; and now Haydn, and still more Mozart, following in the footsteps of Bach, and in turn followed by their still greater pupil, Beethoven, pushed past all bounds hitherto set in musical composition. In their hands the opera attained new greatness; and with the elaboration of new forms of expression, the symphony and sonata, music was raised to heights of achievement and capabilities scarcely suspected before. Beyond even the triumphs of Gluck, who had done so much to bring German music into touch with the progress of opera, rose the glory of Mozart. His *Idomeneo* reached the highest level yet attained in that field; and when to these were added *Don Giovanni,* the *Zauberflöte,* and the uncompleted *Requiem,* and, from Beethoven's hand in later years, the *Choral Symphony,* the world entered upon the greatest era of its musical history.

1750-89

1756-91

Besides her triumphs in harmony, Germany astonished the world in two other lines of human achievement. The one was literature. At this juncture, inspired in part at least by the translation of Shakespeare and the example of Percy and his colleagues in the revival of the older and more "natural" forms of literature, an amazing burst of genius suddenly set her among the principal intellectual nations of Europe. There the poet-philosopher, Lessing, who, with Diderot, had done most to foster a critical spirit in European art and letters, had been joined by such men as Wieland and Klopstock to protest against the classical decadence which had overtaken German letters. This "Sturm und Drang" movement, as it came to be known, bent all its genius to the destruction of conventionality, the tyranny of old forms and superstitions, and to encouraging the tendency toward the freedom of "natural" genius.

German literature

1729-81

From that beginning came a new German renaissance.

Herder, with his folk-songs, emulated the triumphs of the English school; and, following him, came the twin stars of Germany's literary constellation, Schiller and Goethe. What Petrarch and Dante had been to Italy in successive centuries, what Shakespeare and Milton had been more recently to England, these two became almost simultaneously to the German people. Schiller, beginning with his romantic drama of the *Robbers,* proceeded through the medium of historical plays, *Wallenstein, Maria Stuart, The Maid of Orleans,* to his final and perhaps his greatest work, *Wilhelm Tell.* At the same time he contributed a history of the Thirty Years' War to that form of literature; wrote philosophical dissertations, enunciating his creed compounded of mysticism and deism; and produced a body of poetry which has made him one of the most read and best loved of German poets.

Schiller 1759-1805

Goethe 1749-1832

Beside Schiller towered the genius of his friend, Johann Wolfgang Goethe, the vast range and content of whose mind, no less than his literary powers, made his work not merely the culmination of German literary expression, but gave it a place in world literature. Few departments of intellectual effort were alien to his genius. Like Schiller, he began with romantic drama, in *Goetz von Berlichingen.* Like him, he drew material from history for his dramas, as *Egmont, Tasso, Mahomet,* and lesser plays fell from his pen. To these Goethe added two other forms; one was the drama drawn from classical sources, like *Iphigenia auf Tauris;* the other was that strain of sentimental romance which found voice in the *Sorrows of Werther,* and imitators through the whole German-speaking world. He had, moreover, a lyric gift unequaled in his native tongue, a breadth of mind and human sympathy which, joined to no inconsiderable scientific acquirements, made him the wonder of the European world of intellect. He was at once the representative and the highest type of his literary age. His translation of Gray's *Elegy,* his admiration of Goldsmith's *Vicar of Wakefield,* of Ossian, of Shakespeare above all, testify to the close connection of the forces remaking European life and thought. Moreover, Goethe contributed not only the most considerable

impetus to the Sturm und Drang movement, but, in his *Herrmann und Dorothea,* and in his ultimate masterpiece, *Faust,* which only a later generation was to see completed, he gave that impulse to nature and humanity which his novel of *Wilhelm Meister* foreshadowed, and of which his whole life and work was an example.

Kant 1724–1804

If it were not enough to have produced Goethe and Schiller in one generation, with Beethoven and Mozart, Germany crowned the long development of philosophy since Descartes in this same period by the genius of Immanuel Kant. In him there culminated, and, in some sense closed, the era of critical philosophy; for his *Critique of Pure Reason,* with its comprehensive grasp of method and content, rejected at once the empiricism of the English thinkers like Hume, and the loose emotion of current German thought. God he identified with the general law of ethical necessity; and upon the reason rather than on the emotions he placed the responsibility for conduct. He denied the contention of the mere rationalists that there was any law of absolute truth, as he denied the existence of phenomena without relation to the mind that perceived them. For the abstractions of his predecessors, therefore, he substituted "practical reason," and the "supreme cause" was to him a moral rather than a sensual force. In such fashion was joined the conflict between the realists and the idealists, with which every intellectual force of the period was concerned, and which, from this day to our own, has divided the intellectual and the artistic world. And though he had no intention to "humiliate reason," he relegated it to a secondary place among the faculties. To him the basic quality was the *will,* and in this he combats alike materialism and spiritual dogmatism. Thus, as in the early seventeenth century the thought of Descartes gave a new basis of reason to the intellectual processes then stimulated by the progress of science, the last years of the eighteenth century were provided with intellectual foundations and formulæ to express the new concepts then coming into existence under the stress of movements which revolutionized man's life and his performance.

These great figures of Germany's golden age personified the highest intellectual achievements of their race; but theirs was not the Germany of Frederick the Great. The mild and peaceful culture of the courts in whose atmosphere their genius flourished, that older and truer Germany between the Rhine and the Elbe, bore little relation to the proud, warlike, unintellectual militarism of the Germanized Slavic lands of Prussia. Weimar, the "German Athens," and not Berlin was the intellectual capital of the German people. Prussia, neither then nor later, produced from her own loins a literature or a culture comparable to that of these small but truly enlightened states. Like Catherine of Russia, Frederick the Great took France for his intellectual guide rather than the genius of his own land. Though these liberal powers were to be overwhelmed and discredited by Prussian might in future years, this overthrow of a German Athens by a Prussian Sparta was to prove more of a loss to the world, and to the German people themselves, than could be atoned for by any aggrandizement of the Hohenzollern dynasty. For with the triumph of absolutism over enlightenment, German literature, philosophy, and culture suffered in proportion as German material prosperity increased.

Into those higher realms of thought, whatever their great importance to the human race, most men have neither cared nor been able to penetrate. But to another series of phenomena which distinguished this period above all others in history they were not so indifferent. While the outlying regions of thought and action, like the remoter confines of European possessions, were thus stirred by new forces, at the very heart of every-day existence there were being wrought changes of no less significance and of far more immediate interest and importance to the masses of mankind.

French letters

Their first and most obvious expression was in literature. The Age of Voltaire and the philosophers had merged insensibly into the Age of the American Revolution which transmuted into action the doctrines which had long been at work remolding European thought. The great skeptic had lived to hear of the surrender of Burgoyne; and at the very moment

that he made his final and triumphal visit to Paris there was 1778
signed the treaty between France and the colonies which recognized the independence of the United States of America. That circumstance gave a tremendous impetus to the principles of liberty for which he, with his fellow-philosophers, had long contended. There was no hand in France, nor in Europe, both able and willing to take up the pen which fell from his hands. For Goethe, with all his genius, had but a languid interest in politics or the controversy which delighted the soul of the great Frenchman, and Kant's philosophy, even had it taken the form of liberalism, was as yet too remote from popular thought to affect its course.

French Liberalism

But if French letters felt the loss of its leader, its spirit remained that of the philosophers; and a host of lesser hands continued the work of Voltaire, Diderot, Rousseau, and Montesquieu. The *salons* of the free-thinkers flourished. The cult of the common man, of liberalism in religion and politics, was more and more sedulously cultivated; and a thousand circumstances pointed to an approaching revolution. Despite the labors of men like Prévost and St. Pierre, the prevailing tone of French letters was didactic and political. The latter author, indeed, opened a new vein of fiction with his *Paul* 1789
and Virginia, in which the extreme sentimentality of his time was blended with an extra-European setting to produce a new genre of idyllic literature not without its influence on later times. But it had neither philosophical nor political importance save in so far as it reflected the general tendency toward spontaneity and simplicity.

It was not without significance that this apostle of sentiment had begun life as an officer in Mauritius and became the superintendent of the Jardin des Plantes; thus typifying that connection between the various streams of activity which dominated the imagination of his time. Even more typical of that spirit was the Abbé Raynal's *Histoire philosophique* 1770
et politique des établissements des Européens dans les deux Indes. This curious compilation, to which many of the group of so-called philosophers contributed, lacked real historical spirit. It was as full of errors as it was of declamation

about liberty, the rights of man, and the current shibboleths of the school to which the author belonged. Yet it enjoyed a peculiar popularity, partly as the first effort to relate the history of Europe beyond the sea, and more largely as the expression in history of the principles of liberalism then being practically exemplified in America and becoming so fashionable in France.

English literature —the historians

But French literature, especially in history, yielded, like all European efforts in that field, to the labors of the English in this remarkable period. At this moment the British Isles boasted the three greatest living historians, one of whom still challenges comparison with any historical writer before or since.

Hume 1711-76

The first was the Scotch philosopher, David Hume, whose death in the year of the American Declaration of Independence removed one of the most distinguished figures of that circle which made Edinburgh at this time a principal intellectual center of Europe. He belonged to the rationalistic school; and his *Natural History of Religion* was one of the earliest efforts of that group to carry the conflict between science or philosophy and theology into the field of dogmatism and revelation. His contributions to psychology, ethics, and economics ranked him among the leading intellects of his time. His *History of England,* chiefly by virtue of its style,—for he was no historian in the modern sense,—had become and long remained the classic account of England's development; nor with all of its bias and its inaccuracy was it without its merits for the days in which it was written.

Robertson 1721-93

Not inferior in style and infinitely superior in method to Hume was his countryman Robertson, who, in addition to his labors on the history of Scotland, devoted his talents to the same subject which had attracted the Frenchman, Raynal, and had produced the earliest of German colonial historians, —the doings of Europeans beyond the sea. It was the symbol of a changing age when British, French, and German writers took up the task of explaining to their countrymen the story of those regions then for the first time breaking away from European leading-strings. And it was emphasized by the

appearance of another historical production from the pen of one, who, by his position on the English Board of Trade and in the House of Commons, had done something to precipitate that catastrophe.

Gibbon 1737-94

In the year of the Declaration of American Independence there was published the first volume of Edward Gibbon's *History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire.* Inspired and informed by the labors of scholarship, antiquarianism, and archæology which distinguished the eighteenth century, Gibbon's work was peculiarly characteristic of the intellectual movement of its time and by far its greatest historical product. It raised English and indeed European historical writing to a plane scarcely reached since the days of Thucydides. For to a great gift of style it added scientific method, great learning, and a sweep of imagination which made it a literary portent of the time, comparable in value with the labors of the scientists and philosophers, and in popularity with that of the novelists.

With Gibbon's work modern historical writing may be said to begin. It partook of another quality which gave it sensational importance and produced a whole library of controversy. Like his contemporaries, Gibbon was profoundly influenced by rationalistic thought, and at least two of his chapters,—those which ventured to enumerate the non-spiritual causes for the spread of primitive Christianity,—became the object of the bitterest attacks of the orthodox, and the prophecy of a new era of historical approach.

Political economy

It might well be argued that the year 1776 is the most important date in history since the discovery of America or the fall of Constantinople, as the one from which the final stage of European revolution took its rise. For it marks not only the formal separation of the new world from the old and the entry of an astonishing number of new ideas into European thought, but it was the climax of a period which revolutionized European thought and practice in nearly every field of human activity. This is especially true of the literature concerning itself with public affairs and those concerns which we commonly think of in terms of statesmanship. In that

Adam Smith 1723-90

field the simultaneous publication of two volumes in a sense marked the final break with the theories of the past and laid the foundations of a new era of thought, and presently of practice, in economics and government. The first was the *Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*, by the Scotch political philosopher-economist, Adam Smith. It is scarcely too much to say that his work is not unworthy to set beside even Jefferson's immortal document as a landmark in the history of liberty. Whether its author be regarded as the founder of that school of economic thought which has governed men from his time almost to our own and still exercises a powerful influence on affairs, or whether he be looked on as merely the greatest exponent of the tendencies of his own time, it is true that,—completing the work begun by the Physiocrats,—he sounded the death-knell of mercantilism.

His work was infused with that historical spirit which had been so lacking in most earlier economic writing but was so characteristic of his day, and had proved one of the most powerful antagonists of authority. It emphasized the principle enunciated by the Physiocrats known as *laissez-faire*—the spirit of individual initiative as against that of the paternal authority of the state, of competition against monopoly, of the operation of "natural" laws in politics and economics against the artificiality which had long prevailed there. And however that spirit tended to ignore the problem of welfare in its emphasis upon wealth, however it found itself in need of correction as the era of unrestricted competition and industrialism—"the age of tooth and claw"—came on, it was not only in full accord with the instinct of a generation bent on breaking the long domination of authority, privilege, and aristocratic supremacy, but it played a great part in that emancipation. His book was not merely a classic of economic literature; it had profound and far-reaching effect on practical affairs. The praise which has been accorded its influence had found expression in the assertion that had it appeared a generation earlier there would have been no American Revolution; and its influence may be measured by

the complete reversal of English policy which it and its successors effected within the ensuing half-century.

Were these not enough to mark 1776 as an *annus mirabilis*, there appeared at the same moment another book, briefer, less easily comprehensible, and far less popular than that of Smith, but scarcely less influential on political thought and ultimately on political practice. This *Fragment on Government* brought into European view the doctrines of Jeremy Bentham, in whose hands the principles sketched by Hobbes in the seventeenth century and elaborated by lesser men in the eighteenth were formulated into the school of thought known as utilitarian. To these men the chief object to be sought by organized society was, in their famous phrase, "the greatest good of the greatest number"; the chief test of government, utility; the chief motive of human action, self-interest. In this doctrine they aligned themselves, consciously or unconsciously, on the side of democracy. Utilitarianism ignored certain obvious limitations of its philosophy of motive, especially as applied to individuals, and, in a sense, it followed eighteenth-century fashion in lowering the plane of thought and action in the interest of practicality. None the less it exercised a profound and not unsalutary effect on future thought and still more on legislation. When supplemented by Bentham's work on the *Principles of Morals and Legislation*, which coincided with the formation of the American constitution, it gave his doctrines a position, particularly in the field of legislative reform, comparable to those of the Scotch economist in political economy. If the one revolutionized the theories which underlay the vast complex of politics, manufacturing, and commerce, the other influenced no less that other related complex of politics, morals, and society. From such efforts, joined to the practical demonstration of liberty then being given across the Atlantic, flowed a stream of thought and action which was to reshape the destinies of a great part of the European world.

Bentham 1748-1832

In itself this literary and philosophic production was remarkable. It was still more remarkable when taken in

connection with the development in another line which had unquestionably done much to turn men's thoughts to such matters and with which it was to have such tremendous interaction. Among the claims of the eighteenth century to a high place in history is the fact that it was the period in which the modern world of agriculture and industry took its rise. In England, particularly, the so-called Agricultural Revolution was reaching its zenith during the years of the American revolt. During the preceding half-century almost every phase of production from the soil and the breeding of cattle had been improved beyond the imagination of preceding generations. It is perhaps unworthy the dignity of the chroniclers of kings and ministers to record the fact that in this period crop returns were doubled by more scientific cultivation, and that the weight of cattle and sheep was increased by half through careful selection in breeding and the spread of root crops for feeding. But it may be within even their province to note that by the time of George III and Louis XVI farming had become not only profitable but fashionable; or that, as a sign of the more practical side of the eighteenth century's return to nature, George Washington was not only the savior of the American cause but one of the foremost agriculturists of his time; while George III's favorite title was that of "a gentleman of Berkshire."

The Agricultural Revolution 1760-89

These are trifles significant of a rapidly altering society, and a no less rapidly changing attitude toward affairs. It was reflected and reinforced by another phenomenon of importance to many classes of society. The increased rewards derived from land made land more valuable; and in England especially it led to a revolution not only in cultivation but in distribution. The immemorial common field system was destroyed. The common lands were inclosed; and small farms were consolidated into large holdings more easily and more profitably worked by those possessed of capital. The effect was twofold. On the one hand, production was increased; on the other, the destruction of the small landholder, or yeoman class, long since begun, was virtually completed. The generation which experienced the troubles in America

effected the greater part of the first stages of this change largely through the action of a landlord Parliament which secured its monopoly by enclosure acts. This tendency was less observable on the continent, where the land-holding classes had no such legislative powers. And while in the hands of men fitted by knowledge, skill, and capital this grazing or waste land developed into greater productivity, and so increased the wealth of the nation, it is now questionable whether the social loss by lowering the status of the agricultural masses did not more than offset the economic gain of larger crops.

The Industrial Revolution 1760-89

The situation of these lower classes in what was at this time the leading agricultural, industrial, and commercial nation in Europe, was thus depressed, not only by their own dispossession but by the relative improvement of their superiors, as they descended into mere laborers. It is, indeed, difficult to determine what would have been their fate had it not been for another phenomenon which at this precise moment tended for the time to provide their surplus numbers with a market for their only commodity, their labor. This was the so-called Industrial Revolution, whose results are not to be reckoned inferior to the revolt of the colonies, nor, indeed, to any event since the discovery of America.

Like its agricultural forerunner, its earliest seat was the British Isles. There the development of manufacturing had proceeded on different lines and on a larger scale than in any other European country, and there it was but natural to expect the most marked improvements in mechanism.

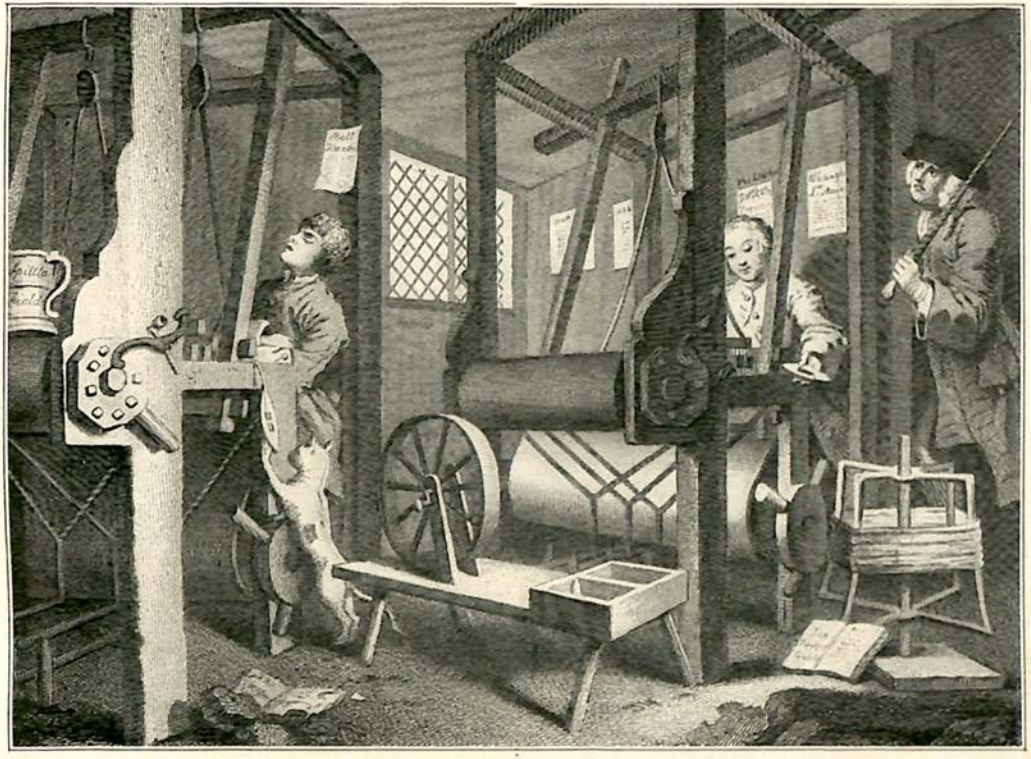
Provided with markets not only on the adjacent continent but in far-flung colonies and dependencies bound to her by the closest of commercial restrictions, and controlling virtually the sea-going commerce of the world, England, unlike France, had found her chief profits during the eighteenth century in staple and quantity, rather than in articles of quality and fashion. Her manufactures, like her commerce, had doubled, even trebled, in fifty years, till, especially in the two great fields of iron and weaving, she now led the world. That progress had been accompanied and in no small degree caused by two circumstances. The first was her

colonial policy, which at once provided her with enormous supplies of raw material and made her the manufacturing, commercial, and financial center of her empire. The second was the improvement in her methods of production and distribution.

The development of coal and iron mines in which the continent was as yet relatively deficient, the supplies drawn from across the sea, coupled with the industry and skill of her artisans and her unsurpassed merchant marine, no less than the resources and ability of her financiers, were aided by still another and perhaps the most important of her advantages,—the ingenuity of her inventors. Until well into the eighteenth century England, like the rest of the continent, depended almost wholly upon the so-called cottage system of manufacturing, and very largely on hand labor. Throughout Europe the horse-driven treadmill was used to some extent. The windmill, which adorned the Dutch landscape and provided power for Dutch mills, found little or no place elsewhere; and water provided the chief means of propulsion for such machinery as was not driven by the human hand or foot. The fuel for smelting operations had long been
1742-63 provided by the forests; and it was not until the period of the wars of the Austrian Succession that pit-coal began to replace wood and charcoal. Only in coal-mining was steam power used, and that in the form of the relatively crude Newcomen pumping-engine, used to clear the mines of water. Other attempts to apply this principle to the driving of stationary engines, or to means of communication by land or water had not as yet been a practical success.

Spinning and weaving 1730-60

In some measure industrial development had been stimulated by improvements in spinning and weaving which characterized the second quarter of the century. The foot-driven spinning-wheel was still in use, with some modifications from its original form, and the efforts to substitute some mechanical means, like rollers, to draw out and twist the threads, were as yet commercially unsuccessful. Weaving was more fortunate. The flying-shuttle of Kay, and his later invention of shuttle-boxes, greatly increased the capacity and ease of



THE INDUSTRIOUS AND THE LAZY APPRENTICE.

One of the series "Industry and Idleness," by Hogarth, 1747. It should be compared with the drawings by Jost Amman to see how little the craft of weaving had changed since the 16th century. (Vol. I, p. 362.)

manipulation of the loom. Finally its adaptation to figured work, begun by the Frenchmen Falcon and Bouchon, in the same period, extended its capabilities and formed probably the greatest advance in weaving since the invention of the loom itself.

With these improvements the weavers for the moment passed beyond the capacity of the spinners to produce thread sufficient for their purposes; and the inventors at once began to endeavor to remedy that serious deficiency. The years of the American Revolution saw the difficulty removed. James Hargreaves, an English blacksmith, devised what was known as a spinning-jenny, which realized the dream of producing threads by machinery. But the Hargreaves machine, though it spun twenty or thirty threads at a time, could not make them strong enough for warp. Almost at once, however, Richard Arkwright contrived an improved jenny which was capable of producing as many threads as Hargreaves' device, and of any required fineness and strength. Ten years later, at the crisis of the American troubles, Samuel Crompton corrected the defects of the spinning-jenny by the invention of the "mule," which could twist threads suitable for the weaving of muslin, and so came to be known as the muslin-wheel. With these inventions the spinners caught up with the weavers, and the industry was revolutionized. Within a decade the manufacture of textiles was transferred from the handworkers, who had carried it on since the dawn of history. For the first time it became possible not only to take raw wool, cotton, flax, or silk and weave fabrics virtually without the use of the hands, save to direct the machines; but, what was more important, to produce from the same amount of labor an enormously increased output of goods.

Hargreaves 1764

Arkwright 1769

Crompton 1779

There remained the problem of power to drive these machines. Arkwright had first used horses, then the water-wheel, with moderate success. But even while he was casting about for other and better methods of operation, a Scotch instrument-maker, one James Watt, engaged in repairing a model of the Newcomen engine, was inspired to correct its defects. The original steam-engine had been merely the

Watt 1736-1819

application to a pump of steam which, reversing the pumping principle, drove the piston forward and so worked the handle. It had many flaws, the chief of which was the enormous waste of power. This Watt endeavored to correct, chiefly by various devices to conserve the steam. These included the condenser; the use of oil to lubricate the piston which would thus work more easily and hold in the steam more effectively; a covering to the upper end of the cylinder and its inclosure in an outer shell of non-conducting material; and a device to keep the piston-rod, as well as the piston, in a steam-tight compartment. By such means he preserved a great part of the heat which had been largely wasted in the Newcomen-Savery engine, and so increased its power enormously. To this he added other devices to regulate its action—the throttle-valve, the governor to control the speed of rotation, and the indicator to record steam pressure. He found means to convert the back and forth motion of the piston to the rotary motion necessary to drive the wheels of a machine, as well as to keep the piston to a straight line and enable it to pull as well as push, and a process of so-called "expansive working," by which the steam drove the piston forward by its expansion after entering the cylinder. With these devices the steam-engine took on much the form which, save for the use of superheated steam, it has since maintained; and the new source of power, thus effectively harnessed, became the motive principle of another era of human development.

The steam-engine

It is scarcely too much to say that Watt began a new age of the world. The improvements in the manufacture of iron and steel which had preceded his invention were now enormously stimulated by the power he put in men's hands to handle metal in quantities and sizes hitherto impossible. The necessity for more and better material for the production of machinery in turn brought with it an advance in the processes of mining and smelting. The application of steam power first to cotton mills, then to blast furnaces, increased at once their capacity and adaptability to conditions of production. Coal took the place of water as the chief source of power; and wherever it was available there sprang up

the first products of the Industrial Revolution, the factories. Hand labor, indeed, continued long, but with decreasing ability to meet the competition of man's new servant in quantity production. Thus at the same moment that the political revolution in Europe came to its fruition, the mechanical revolution began to transform the industrial and social conditions of the world.

Results of the Industrial Revolution

For the effects of English inventive genius were by no means confined to the mere field of industry. As production was thus infinitely multiplied it brought in its wake an infinity of unsuspected forces and results. To the centers of the new manufacturing activity, the factory towns, were drawn increasing thousands of workers. This not merely shifted population from one district to another, but made the long-neglected regions which produced the coal necessary for the new source of power, the scenes of unexampled energy and wealth. They brought with them great problems of society. Wealth and its unequal distribution grew in equal pace. Beside the landlord, the factory owner took his stand, in the revised arrangement of society. Beside, or in the place of agricultural tenant or laborer, appeared the factory hand; and every social class and force was compelled to readjust itself to the situation thus produced. This was no mere question of wealth and labor; it was a problem of life,—for human society no less than industry was revolutionized.

Not merely was the productive capacity of the world multiplied, strangely enough demand increased proportionately with supply—or better, perhaps, supply proved for the first time equal to demand. And, as always happens in such cases, men found their desires, even their necessities, increased by the very wealth of new material placed at their disposal. The world became capable of supporting more human beings, with more wants; and instead of relieving the pressure for production, that pressure actually increased.

The result was an unprecedented stimulus to every phase of human activity. New conditions of existence, new problems of wealth and welfare, new organisms within the body politic, a whole new world of men and conditions, arose

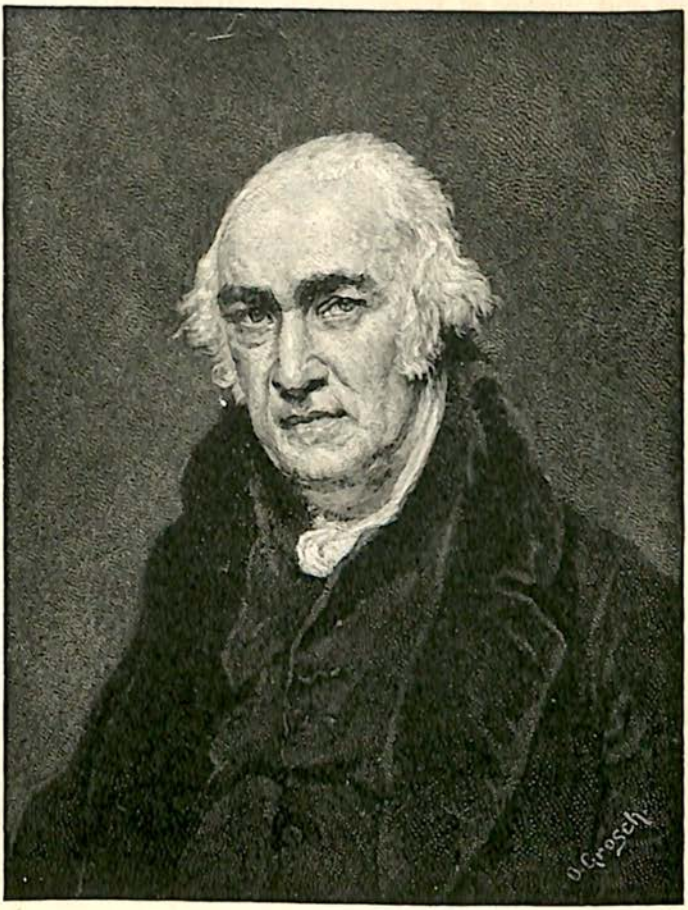
with startling rapidity from the situation thus produced. So strange was it to human experience that nothing short of the marvelous tale of Aladdin's genius of the lamp, or the fantastic tale of Frankenstein, sufficed to provide a parallel. Nor is that parallel complete, since the industrial genius and the social Frankenstein, so far from being bottled or destroyed by those who summoned them into existence, have come to be the dominant powers of an altered world. The stimulus of the demand for labor was soon felt in an increase of population; and among the manifold and unexpected results of the industrial revolution not the least important was the enormous increase of European peoples, with its complex and far-reaching consequences.

Science and invention

These great changes, whose principal results belong to later generations, were accompanied by two other phenomena, not unrelated to the movement typified by Watt and his fellow-inventors. The latter represented that spirit of empirical or even accidental talent which, unrelated to scientific advance, produces inventions, so to speak, from its inner consciousness. Watt, on the other hand, achieved his success not only by this process but by his study of the properties of the material on which his fame was based, steam.

Astronomy 1750-1800

Something of that spirit was evident in the other scientific achievements of his time, whose history is the record of great names. Herschel's improvement of the telescope now enlarged man's knowledge of the planetary system with the discovery of Uranus. The *Mécanique Céleste* of Laplace, whose mathematical solution of the mechanics of the universe formed the greatest of astronomical contributions since Newton's *Principia,* joined to the work of Lagrange and Euler and their contemporaries, was to round out the eighteenth century's task of deducing and generalizing the achievements of astronomy. Those labors were yet under way; and it was not until the beginning of the nineteenth century that they were completed and accepted. But by the time which we have now reached, a great part of the work upon which they were based had been accomplished; and it was the province of Laplace to combine the series of eighteenth-century tri-



JAMES WATT.

umphs in astronomy into a systematic whole, no less than to infuse that body of knowledge with his own genius.

Geology and geography

Coincident, and in a sense corollary to these astronomical achievements, were the concurrent investigations of the earth. In these years Werner established the principles of geological formation; while Häney and Dolomieu laid the foundations of mineralogy. Buffon published his *Epoques de la Nature,* 1779 the first attempt to deal chronologically with the history of the earth. Finally Hutton and his disciple Playfair inaugurated that classification of geological strata, which, expanded presently by the work of Lamarck and Cuvier on fossils, began modern geology. Meanwhile, the explorers were not idle; and to the achievements of Cook were added those of Mackenzie, who first reached the river which bears his 1789 name and followed it to the Arctic. The polar regions and central Africa felt the presence of adventurous travelers. And, apart from his labors in delineating the world as it was revealed by these new additions to knowledge, the French cartographer, d'Anville, rendered such service to the cause 1697-1782 of ancient and even mediæval historical geography as to make him the virtual founder of that branch of human learning. It is not surprising that, with these advances in knowledge, philosophers and theologians alike were compelled to revise their beliefs, and among the circumstances which typified the times, not the least significant is the fact that Kant lectured on physics and physical geography.

Physics and chemistry 1768-89

No less remarkable were the advances in physics and chemistry. For in those years, among a multitude of scarcely less important discoveries, the experiments of Volta and Galvani produced the electric pile and the battery generating a continuous current, upon which the future of electricity so largely depended. The chemists were no less active. The labors of Priestley and Lavoisier dealt a final blow to the phlogiston theory which had long hampered advance, and with the resolution and re-creation of water from its elements pointed out new lines of investigation. Scheele and Priestley finally isolated oxygen. Cavendish and Berthollet laid the foundations of pneumatics; Scheele continued to provide the

world with new materials for its use, among which chlorine and glycerine were the most conspicuous. And these, with an increasing company of investigators besides, added from year to year, almost from month to month, to man's knowledge of nature and her laws; and increased his capacity to adapt them to his own purposes.

Biology

The biologists, meanwhile, contributed to the same end, as the contemporaries and successors of Linnæus and Buffon continued and completed their work. The classification and systematization of plants and animals, which had marked the century, led inevitably to consideration of the reasons why so many varieties of animal life occurred. With this came the beginning of that theory of species which was to lead to the modern doctrine of evolution. Among its pioneers the name of Lamarck was conspicuous; while Spallanzani's work on the problems of generation introduced another element of the highest importance to the study of life and its mysteries. Still more practical were the investigations

1775-96

of the blood, which in the hands of Jenner were to lead to the vaccination treatment and the consequent betterment of human health.

Influence upon thought and belief

It is apparent from the most cursory review of the more conspicuous contributions to human knowledge and capacity in this noteworthy period that the world had come to another great turning-point not only in its affairs but in its thought. What the rationalists had hardly been able to accomplish in their attacks upon the theologians, the scientists now began to achieve. Before the discoveries of the geologists and astronomers the Mosaic doctrines of the origin and age of the earth began to crumble; and with them went much beside. The change affected much more than foundations of belief. The eighteenth century was at once skeptical and sentimental, highly theoretical yet severely practical, intellectual but curiously humanitarian. And, as a result of these strangely assorted qualities, it developed, among its other manifestations, a remarkable tendency toward the alleviation of human ignorance and suffering, inspired and directed by its passion for organization.

It was, above all, infused with the spirit which had already produced one revolution and was preparing another,—the attention to the common man. This rose to eminence at the very moment that aristocratic dominance seemed at its height. And if the development of political and economic philosophy paralleled the progress of science and invention to increase the wealth of nations, the development of that movement to which we give the name of humanitarian was a still more remarkable evidence of the changing standards of a world. "Man's inhumanity to man makes countless thousands mourn," wrote Burns. And it was in the effort to correct somewhat the suffering and injustice which men endure at the hands of their fellows that the later eighteenth century, from the so-called enlightened despots of the continent to the democratic English reformers, began a new age of social regeneration.

Rise of humanitarianism —the slave trade

It was, perhaps, natural that, as the French political theorists had led the way in the reaction against the apotheosis of royal authority exemplified in Louis XIV, the English reformers led the way in the reaction against the evils originating in the peculiar development of their own society. In the nation which, after the Portuguese, had most profited from the slave-trade, there was begun a movement destined to put an end to that wretched traffic. Lord Mansfield, among the great series of decisions which contributed to his fame as the founder of the English commercial law, and the political activities which caused him to be called "the founder of modern Toryism," gave utterance to a famous 1772
judgment which made a freeman of any man who set foot on English soil, whatever his previous status. He himself was far from a propagandist; but there sprang up in the years of the American Revolution a school of devoted anti-slavery advocates, Ramsay, Sharp, Clarkson, and Bishop Wilberforce. Their efforts within one generation were to abolish the slave-trade, and in another to abolish slavery throughout the British Empire.

At the same time, owing in part perhaps to the so-called "evangelical movement" growing out of the religious revival

Sunday schools and prison reform 1780

of the century, other forces rallied to the protection of society. Robert Raikes founded the "Sunday School," which thenceforth, especially in the hands of the Nonconformists, played a great part in church affairs. The activities of the prison reformer, John Howard, who was the greatest figure of an

1773

increasing group, began the practical betterment of the fearful prison conditions which had long disgraced Europe. This was furthered by the talents of men like Bentham who founded a new school of theory and practice in the treatment of criminals, and not merely revolutionized penology but opened new avenues of social thought and service.

Abolition of torture 1763-89

Such activities were emphasized by a change in judicial procedure which came to affect the whole European world. From very early times the use of torture in extracting evidence from unwilling witnesses had been common to most European countries, and recognized as a part of the criminal code in virtually every nation save England. Even there the royal houses of Tudor and Stuart had used it as an engine of state though not of law. Following the work of reformers —the English penologists, like Bentham, and the Italian writers on criminal subjects, like Beccaria and Burlamaqui,— there came a rapid change in men's attitude toward this practice. It is a notable feature of the general movement toward the alleviation of manners as well as morals that the Age of the American Revolution saw its virtual abolition in nearly every European country save perhaps some of the German states where it had always found its principal foothold and its chief defenders. Nor is it without significance that the last *auto-da-fé* was held at the same time that torture disappeared from European practice. Thus the institutions which in an age of faith had claimed as victims such different individuals as Machiavelli, Bruno, and Villon, Savonarola, Servetus, and Campanella, by the irony of circumstance disappeared in the age of skepticism.

This circumstance is not merely notable as an evidence of the changing attitude of the world toward matters of belief, and as a prophecy of greater tolerance, of gentler manners, and more rational action. It revealed a wider sympathy and

COTTON FACTORIES IN MANCHESTER.

From Baines' *History of Cotton Manufacture.* Note the type of building now introduced; the canal; and the background of chimneys and smoke, as symbols of the changes being made at the end of the 18th century.

a deeper recognition of the varied aspects of humanity. Still more, the humanitarian movement began to develop protective agencies for a society experiencing new disabilities, new problems, and new evils arising from its own success in material fields. In the efforts to adjust the diverging interests of the wealthy few with the welfare of the many; in the endeavor to ameliorate the suffering and injustice increasingly evident in human relationships; no less than in the attempt to relate social with material and intellectual progress, the eighteenth century revealed one of the principal concerns of the modern world. This was not wholly the product of skepticism. But, whatever the cause, modern Europe proved itself superior to the ancient world, and modern Christianity, reinforced by rationalism, superior to ancient paganism, or mediæval superstition in this respect at least.

The spirit of liberty thus making itself felt so powerfully in practice was no less evident in the literature of the period. While France followed the footsteps of the philosophers, the British Isles, concrete as always in their expression of emotion, had entered on another phase of their literary progress closely connected not only with the return to nature and the cause of political emancipation but with the rising cult of common humanity. English literature had begun to outlive the Age of Pope and to substitute imagination and sympathy for correctness and criticism. It had experienced Fielding and Richardson, Smollett and Sterne; and it was now at a point which produced forms of expression which, like the outlines of politics and thought, seem more familiar to modern eyes. From the French had been borrowed the genre of the epistle, and the aristocratic authors, Lord Chesterfield, Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, had worked that vein almost to exhaustion. From the antiquarians had been secured that impulse to revive the past, which was evident in the forgeries of the unfortunate Chatterton and in the scarcely more genuine productions of Ossian, as well as the labors of Bishop Percy in his *Reliques of Ancient Poetry.* 1765 From the general tendency toward systematization which characterized the age had come the Dictionary of Dr. John-

The "natural school"

son, and the first edition of the *Encyclopedia Britannica,* whose appearance coincided with the first year of Lord North's administration.

1770

English literary activity was not dependent on borrowing. Diderot's great *Encyclopédie* had begun, in fact, as the translation of an English production of like nature. And, in another direction, the British Isles contributed an element of profound importance to literary evolution.

The "search for happiness"

The curious phenomenon which the eighteenth century exhibited, as a part of its peculiar psychology, the search for happiness, was evident here no less than on the continent. The talents of Voltaire had undertaken the search in his *Candide;* to this the lexicographer, Dr. Johnson, added his contribution in *Rasselas;* and Gibbon did not think his history complete without attributing that golden age to the Antonine era of Roman history. But it remained to the most graceful of poet-essayists, Oliver Goldsmith, to offer a solution for the mystery which was typical of the altering standards of life and letters. He discovered its seat, not in the distant palaces of the East nor in the remote ages of the past, but in the eighteenth-century cottage and the simple life of the *Vicar of Wakefield.* That motive he emphasized in the greatest poem since Pope, *The Traveller,* who, reviewing his journeys, concludes, with Milton, that happiness depends not on political conditions, or any artificial state, but that the human heart can "in itself make hell of heaven and heaven of hell."

Goldsmith 1728-74

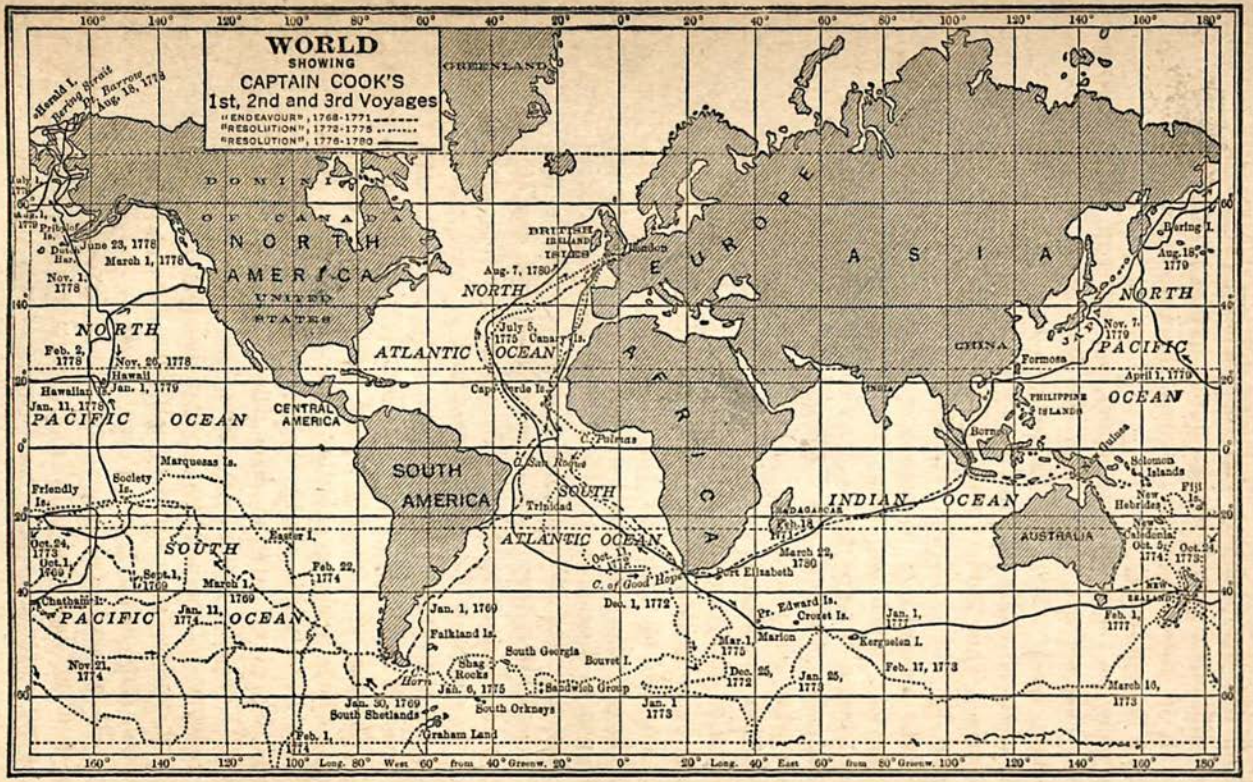
The "common man"

Goldsmith, who died the year before the battle of Lexington, was, with all his personal peculiarities, the true prophet of the oncoming generation. Like Rousseau, he lacked the qualities which made for worldly eminence. Like him he was neither deeply learned nor of good judgment; but like the great Frenchman and far more appealingly and clearly, he voiced the sentiment of his time and the profoundest truths of society. He had many echoes. It was in the household tasks that Cowper found his inspiration; in a country churchyard that Gray penned his immortal *Elegy.* And in the lines of men like these there echoed not merely the return

to the simple and natural, the spirit of liberty and equality, but that sentiment of sympathy and universal humanity which is the greatest product of the later eighteenth-century mind. When that movement was crowned with the work of the Scottish plowman, Burns, who challenged the old régime with his lines, "The rank is but the guinea's stamp, A man's a man for a' that," it was already apparent that the world was set on a new course. For these were more than pleasing literary productions, they were the heralds of a new order of society.

Exploration and colonization

With these movements, intellectual, industrial, political, and sentimental, was bound up another issue, which, in a sense, was not unrelated to them all. It was the opening of new lands and new opportunities beyond the sea. When, hard-pressed by her old rivals, the exigencies of her domestic affairs, and the successes of her rebellious colonies in America, England had been compelled to recognize the independence of her greatest oversea possession, concede home rule to Ireland, and surrender some of her earlier conquests, it was evident that a great change impended in world politics. But it was not apparent what that change implied. To many it appeared that English dominance was on the wane. They thought her empire had felt a mortal blow; that the downfall of her colonial supremacy had come; that the England of Elizabeth, of Cromwell, and of Pitt was at an end; and that her possessions oversea, like her French conquests after Henry V, would presently revert to other hands. Few or none foresaw that her power was destined to a new lease of life, surpassing even that which went before. Not even the most sanguine of prophets anticipated that the conflict just closed was but the beginning of an age of revolution which would raise a family of free states in the new world; and in the old would bring new classes to the conduct of affairs. None could conceive that the inchoate state now cast adrift from the old European system would become, within a century, not only the most advanced society yet founded outside the one from whence it sprung, but comparable in power, wealth, and size to even the greater states of Europe itself.



Map of the voyages and discoveries of Captain James Cook, 1768-80, of which the outlines in the large colored Map of the European World 1783 are only an approximation. It will be seen by comparison, especially with the 1587 map (p. 332), what advance was made in Australasian cartography by the voyages of Tasman and Cook.

Least of all did any prophesy that there should rise in the antipodes still other states, based on not unlike principles, to carry on in those unknown regions the principles and practices of European life.

Australia

Yet even before the peace was signed, something of all of these great changes was under way. Its first result was in those distant lands which Cook's voyages had brought to European and especially to English eyes, in the preceding twenty years. This land, once called New Holland, and rechristened by him Australia, the English administration, moved by the necessity of reorganizing its system of transporting convicts, which had been checked by the American Revolution, began to consider as a solution of the problem of its criminals. America was no longer available. France and Spain were ready and able to oppose fresh aggression, even were that considered; and the expedient first adopted, of sending the unfortunates to Guinea, was so deadly that the awakening conscience of the government revolted against the condemnation to slow and horrible death which it involved. Though the new regions which Cook's discoveries had laid open to European knowledge and occupation were distant, they were not inhospitable; and there, whatever her neighbor's jealousies, they were little inclined and less able to oppose an English occupation. Five years, therefore, after the peace was signed, England despatched a convict ship thither. At a spot pointed out by Cook as fit for settlement and christened Botany Bay, there were set up the Australian colonies of Sydney and Norfolk Island, first of those penal settlements, which, for a generation, were recruited by two thousand convicts a year. Under such unpromising auspices, surrounded by every adverse circumstance, began a new extension of European power and occupation, destined in the ensuing century to conquer its earlier disadvantages and distress, and, under vastly altered conditions, form a powerful European state in the South Pacific.

1787-8

Administrative reform

It would have been surprising if amid such revelations of energy in so many fields the politics of Europe had felt none of the general impulse to progress. Nor was this the case.

The earlier years of the century, indeed, had been little disturbed by creative legislation; and reform, like law, had been silent amid the conflict of arms and diplomacy. But what those years had lacked was fully atoned for in the last quarter of the century. Following the constructive work begun by Lord North's administration and the reforms forced on the government by the increasing opposition strength bent on reduction of the royal power, the administration of the younger Pitt, which succeeded an interregnum of coalition ministries, committed the new Tory Party to a program of reorganization.

—the younger Pitt 1784-1801

The enlightened despots

Widely as continental monarchies varied from that of England, different as were the means they used, their efforts had been directed to not dissimilar ends. Even while Catherine intrigued with Frederick for the partition of Poland and warred with Sweden for the Baltic provinces, she, like her great Prussian contemporary, labored to give her people a sound administration. Greater than either in the effort to reform the old abuses and bring government abreast of progress in other fields was the Emperor Joseph II, who meanwhile became the ruler of all the Hapsburg territories. While he was the author of the one considerable conflict which disturbed Europe in the decade which followed the Peace of Versailles, the Austro-Turkish war, he strove with single aim to consolidate his heterogeneous dominions. His failure might well have daunted a less zealous character. In his endeavors to secure religious toleration, he antagonized the church which claimed the allegiance of half his subjects. His efforts to equalize taxes irritated the higher classes; while that to unify his people by imposing the German language on them all alienated every non-German subject from Belgium to Hungary. Only his early death and the accession of his brother Leopold, who, as Grand Duke of Tuscany, had played the part of benevolent despot with sound judgment and success, preserved the Empire from the spread of insurrection which broke out in the Austrian Netherlands as a retort to the tactless and ill-timed zeal of the most eminent reformer of his time.

1765-90

1790-92

But even the beginnings of colonization in the Pacific, and the first steps in the establishment of sound administration along modern lines in European states, yielded in importance to the developments in America during the six years which followed the Peace of Paris. Those developments, indeed, attracted but little attention in Europe. Beside the labors of Pitt and Catherine, of Joseph II and the enlightened despots in whose activities there seemed the fairest promise of progress in the important science and art of government, the doings of the American colonists appeared of little significance.

The United States of America 1783-9

This is not to be wondered at. Scarcely a nation, much less a well-organized state, the thirteen colonies which emerged into independence bound together by the loosest of ties, lacked nearly every element of strength when measured by old world standards. Their territory, indeed, surpassed that of any European power save one. But, hemmed in by the provinces which England still retained and by the Spanish territories, the claim to much of the land nominally theirs was still disputed by fierce and powerful Indian tribes, while English troops still occupied the western posts to insure performance of treaty obligations. Theirs was of all lands then inhabited by Europeans outside the old world probably best fitted for white settlement. For, unlike South America, no tremendous natural obstacles divided one region from another, and no extremes of heat or cold, arid or torrential areas made the land unlivable; while within its far-reaching boundaries the products of every clime from Egypt to Scandinavia could be grown, and it contained incalculable if scarcely suspected mineral wealth. Moreover, its rivers and ports and inland seas increased its unsurpassed natural opportunities; and it suffered only the immediate disadvantages incident to any such new society.

American advantages

Its economy was still simple. Still essentially an agricultural community, relieved by trapping, trading, fishing, and a slender commerce, now cut off from British markets, it was a race of countrymen. A few ports claimed the rank of cities; the temporary capital, Philadelphia, with most

reason, though it numbered scarcely thirty thousand souls. The average of material prosperity was consequently high, but wealth was evenly distributed; and the prevailing homespun typified the society which it clothed. England had already entered the factory stage of industry. But the use of steam was as yet all but unknown in America, as elsewhere; and in so far she was ill-equipped to solve the problem of her inheritance. In most fields, intellectual activity, like customs, manners, laws, and language, was a reflex of England. Only in three particulars did the Americans excel. The first was the insatiable curiosity and inventiveness of the New Englander; the second was a certain political capacity, born of colonial self-government and nourished by the Revolution; the third was the self-confident courage of the pioneer spirit which enabled the new society to face the future as it faced the wilderness, ignorant but unawed.

American limitations

Its chief disadvantages were largely the product of its environment and the effect of the recent conflict. Its self-contained and largely self-supporting communities had hitherto been bound together as little by tradition of common interests and activities as by economic interdependence or by geographical or political exigence. In means of communication as in sympathies they were only less distant from Europe than from each other; for there was little community among merchant and farmer and fisherman of the north, the southern planter, and the western pioneer. Between the states and within them existed the perpetual antagonism of conflicting interests, which even the crisis of the war had not repressed. The replacing of wealthy, cultured, and conservative loyalists by a more radical element had done much for democracy but little for unity; since the new leaders, now chosen to state offices, jealous of popular rights and local privilege, confirmed in separatist principles, were as ready to oppose the Congress they had created as the Parliament whose authority they had destroyed. They had, as one of their ablest countrymen observed, "talked liberty so long they had forgotten the necessity of government."

American problems 1783-7

Of the three problems which faced this new society, social improvement, expansion, and unity, the last was most pressing. The organization of provinces into states had been completed; and long before the peace was signed most commonwealths were conducting their own affairs. But national administration existed in scarcely more than name; and in consequence the people endured the worst form of decentralized control. State legislated against state, refused or neglected to pay its quota of tax, which Congress had neither force nor authority to collect. Credit, national, then local, disappeared. The debt increased. The interest in a bankrupt and impotent central government declined, till Congress often had no quorum for months. The state authorities, evading the only real remedies, firm administration and sound finance, embraced the wild expedients of paper money, land banks, commercial and sumptuary legislation, with such results that Rhode Island soon faced business anarchy, and Massachusetts armed rebellion. Within four years after the peace it seemed that those who had won their independence might fall a prey to anarchy or foreign intervention through the weak folly of those very men who had been most active in the agitation for freedom.

Steps toward a new constitution 1787-8

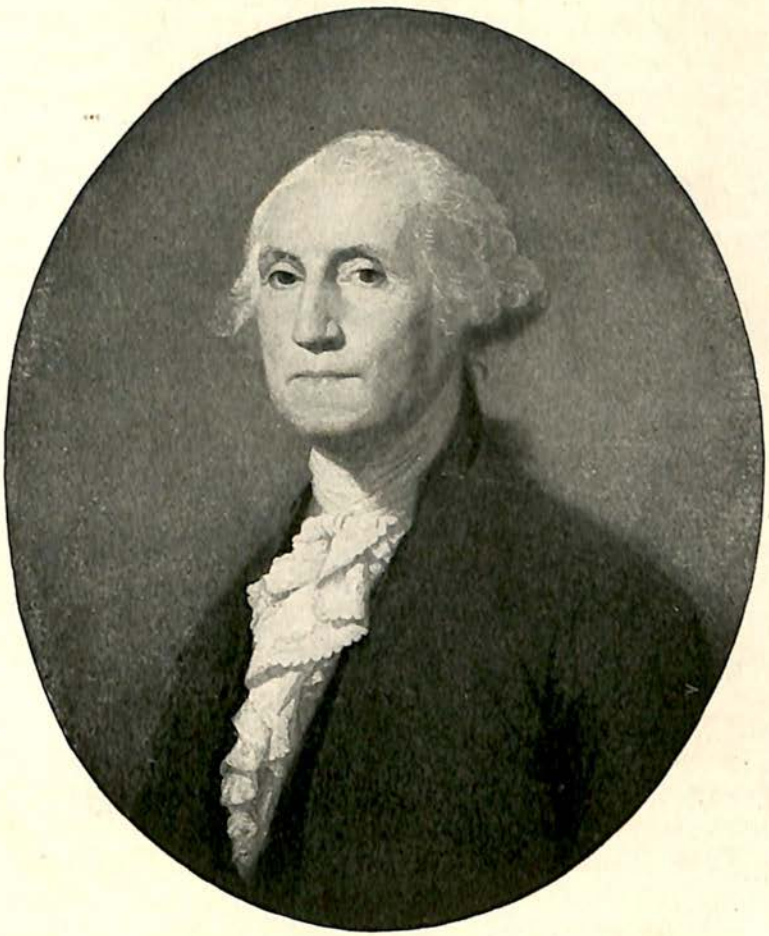
In this crisis the higher intelligence of the community united with its larger interests to provide a remedy; and, as earlier, the elements which rallied to save the nation were those whose leadership had brought success to its arms. In this they were aided by various circumstances. The separation from European influence had strengthened the sense of unity. The consciousness of their vast inheritance beyond the Alleghenies which had fallen into the hands of the central government as the price of the acceptance of the Articles, and the desire to exploit its wealth which led to a great movement toward the west, combined with the distress produced by the financial situation. From a conference, with Washington at its head, to consider the improvement of communication, the pressure to amend the Articles received new strength; and, as a result, seconded by business interests everywhere, Congress authorized the summoning of a constit-

uent assembly. This meeting at Philadelphia in May, 1787, under the presidency of Washington, wrestled in secret for four months with the great problem of a new organization.

From their deliberations they brought forth not a revision of the Articles but a new instrument of government, the Constitution of the United States. It marked an epoch in the political evolution of the European race. The first and still the most remarkable contribution of the new world to the science of politics, it set up a form of government till then unknown, and till then deemed impossible—an effective union of states so federated as to maintain the rights of both central and local authority without emasculating the one or destroying the other. Confronted by the inextinguishable particularist sentiment of states' rights, the antagonisms between commonwealths of widely varying size, the rivalries of north and south, of free and slave-holding communities, above all, the century-long quarrel between the conflicting views of those believing strong administration the goal of their efforts and those contending for popular government, the framers of the Constitution steered a middle course with eminent ability and success. To their task they brought the fruits of their experience in state affairs and under the defective system of the Articles. They invoked the lessons of the old world, from the days of Greece and Rome to the theories of the English and French philosophers. In particular they adopted the principle of separation of powers set forth so skilfully by Montesquieu, while, at the same time, they leaned heavily on English precedent and practice. Thus, combining old and new, practice and theory, into a novel form of polity, they justified their proud claim of forming "a more perfect Union, establishing Justice, promoting the general Welfare, and securing the Blessings of Liberty for themselves and their Posterity."

The Constitution of the United States

By adroit compromise and ingenious constitutional device, avoiding expression of principles, they used the machinery of check and balance to produce a practical paradox, which, however capable or incapable of logical defense, was to prove a marvel of prudent efficiency. By an initial master-stroke



GEORGE WASHINGTON.

After the portrait by Gilbert Stuart.

of policy they disarmed the most powerful mutual antagonisms by transferring the source of constituted authority from the states to the people. They frankly divided sovereignty between the central government and the commonwealths, according to the functions to be performed, adjusting the authority of each so as to preserve their respective rights in mutual interdependence. They formally separated the executive, legislative, and judicial departments of government, with powers so defined as to make the permanent domination of any one difficult if not impossible.

Upon the people in their various capacities was conferred the duty and privilege of choosing their rulers. Electors were named by popular vote within the states to select the chief executive. From districts, apportioned according to population within the states, the people elected the members of the popular branch of the national legislature, the House of Representatives. The same electorate, differently districted, returned the members of the state legislatures, who not merely enacted statutes for the separate commonwealths but chose the members of the national upper house, or Senate. Thus was preserved the balance between the large and small units, whose antagonism might otherwise have wrecked the plan. State governments were undisturbed in form or powers within their own boundaries; while those functions best performed collectively were transferred to the central authority. There was created a federal judiciary, its Supreme Court coordinate with Congress and the chief executive, or President. Control of army and navy, customs, excise, diplomatic service, treasury, coinage, and postal service, were reserved to the federal power, and forbidden to the states, as interference in their affairs was denied to the central government.

Its character and provisions

Such was the nicely balanced system—typified in the motto of the state it established, *"E Pluribus Unum"*—which now took its place among the constitutional classics of the world, and became the model for later republican experiments. Its compromises measured at once the wisdom of its framers and the strength of the opposing interests it sought to combine. Its most ardent advocates scarcely dared anticipate its

adoption as it stood, or its unaltered continuance, in the face of the many conflicting interests it sought to reconcile. Its most ardent opponents hoped to modify or destroy it before the nine states whose assent was necessary to its adoption had sanctioned it. Necessary and equitable as it was, the advocates of wider states' rights and greater popular liberties were not prepared to yield their convictions without a struggle. Every element of disorder helped their cause. As often happens in such a contingency, the hopes and fears of neither side were destined to be fully realized. From the ensuing conflict over adoption the body of the instrument emerged unaltered; but scores of amendments were proposed, and of these ten finally became the price of its acceptance by the states. They formed a bill of rights securing guarantees not mentioned in the document itself. Thus were established free speech and religious liberty, the privileges of assembly and petition, right to bear arms, and freedom from the quartering of soldiers upon the people in time of peace, security against unwarranted search, speedy and public jury trial; safeguards against excessive bail, prolonged imprisonment without judicial hearing, cruel or unnecessary punishment. In short, the old provisions of English protection to the individual against the executive, embraced in documents from Magna Charta to the Bill of Rights, were thus ensured.

Its adoption 1789

With these additions the assent of the states necessary to adoption was secured, and the new constitution took its place among the political systems of the world. The great general who had led the armies of the colonists to victory became, not a dictator, but the elected president of a real self-governing community. Of the three stages of any revolution, the agitation which precedes appeal to force; the clash of arms; and the formation of a new organization to replace the old; the third was safely past. With the adoption of the Constitution the American Revolution was now complete.

Importance of the establishment of the United States

The establishment of the United States was the end of a long development, the climax of two powerful movements which had been at work for centuries. The one was the evolution of self-government, the other the territorial expansion of

the European race in lands beyond the sea. It was not merely that this was the first child of Europe to break away to independence. In so doing it was the first of European societies to make on a great scale the most crucial experiment on which any people can embark, that of ruling themselves. Nor was the spirit which found expression in the American Revolution confined to the new world or to the realm of politics. In a far truer sense than even the astute Prussian monarch dreamed, it was at once a part of the great European movement then on foot in almost every department of human endeavor, and an incentive to still further change. During the years of armed conflict in America at least four principal departments of European activity, politics and economic thought, colonial affairs and industry, were revolutionized. Now at the very moment when the constitution which gave the new nation its final form was adopted, the spirit which had informed the struggle that gave it birth was transferred to the oldest of continental monarchies, there to inaugurate a new era of political development in the old world.

The situation of France 1774

It has been observed that, among the various activities of the enlightened despots which distinguished the Age of the American Revolution, the efforts of Joseph II to unify his territory had brought his people of the Austrian Netherlands to the threshold of revolt. The Belgian discontent was but the prelude to a greater drama on which the curtain was about to rise. At the moment that England drifted into war with her American colonies there had come to the throne of France the amiable and well-intentioned youth, Louis XVI. Seldom had ruler faced a more dubious heritage. The vast debt laid on the nation by Louis XIV's war and diplomacy, increasing through the century by the ambitions of his weaker successors, by maladministration and courtly extravagances, was the eighth wonder of the world of politics. From taxation the clergy and nobility were exempt; from it they drew the pensions and rewards reserved for them alone; from it they sucked the life-blood of the unprivileged. With every disposition to reform, the king had found his best endeavors thwarted by the noble courtiers and the army of officials,

as well as by the obstinate pride and extravagance of his wife, the Austrian archduchess, Marie Antoinette. It was in
1774-6 vain that the great administrator of the Limousin, Turgot, who had made that unpromising province flourish, was summoned to perform the same miracle in national affairs. It was
1776-81 no less in vain the Genevese banker, Necker, was called to reconstruct finance. Both failed before the intrenched privi-
1781-8 lege of court and officials; and the incompetents who succeeded them plunged France into the final stages of insolvency. In this crisis the king, like Charles I of England a century and a half before, when faced by a similar situation, summoned the great nobles and clergy to an Assembly of Notables. Filled with the spirit of class privilege, unmindful
1789 of the signs on every hand, this body found no remedy; and with reluctant voice the government was compelled to summon the States-General, which, since its last meeting under Louis XIII a hundred and seventy-five years before, had taken no part in the affairs of France.

The assembly of the States General 5 May 1789

The Notables had assembled in the same year that the American constitutional convention framed its great document. In the very days that the assent of the states necessary to adoption was being obtained there came together at Versailles the body which was to determine the destinies of France, and in no small degree of Europe itself. It was significant that it should meet in that nation where the old order had reached the zenith of its power, and so fully demonstrated its incompetence; and where, at the same time, the theories of the newer school of thought had taken deepest root. In it the irresistible doctrines of Montesquieu and Rousseau came face to face with the immovable pretensions of the old régime, the Rights of Man with ancient forms and the prescriptive authority of privilege. On the side of the former were now ranged the forces of the new world of affairs and thought; the nobles who had fought for liberty in the western world; the lawyers who had argued its doctrines in the debating clubs of Paris and provincial capitals; the scientists who had long since defied the precedent and authority of the past in search of truth. Even foreigners who

THE OPENING OF THE STATES-GENERAL, VERSAILLES, MAY 5, 1789.

After an engraving by Moreau.

with voice or pen had been enlisted on the same side, stood finally arrayed against the champions of the old régime. For that régime it was the beginning of the end; its last defenses were already being attacked by forces inspired by the same doctrines which had sapped those defenses. Against oncoming millions bred to new ways of thought, against the progress of that thought itself, not all the weight of long-established authority, the awe of immemorial royal and aristocratic supremacy, the power of entrenched inequality, sufficed to protect its lessening defenders. And it was a symbol of the time and the event that marshaled in the ranks of the States-General beside the hero of America, Lafayette, the victim of the Bastille, Mirabeau. With the free-thinking Abbé Sièyes were found the chemist Lavoisier, Bailly, the royal astronomer, Lamarck, the great biologist, and Thomas Paine, the agnostic pamphleteer of the Americans. The last meeting of the States-General was, in brief, no mere political phenomenon. It marked not only the end of an outworn system of government and the beginning of new things as yet untried and scarcely realized in many different fields. It marked no less a crisis in the world of thought; it included among its numbers many exponents of the world's progress in many different lines; and though it took the form of politics, it symbolized the rapidly altering basis of a complex and an increasingly intelligent society.

The conflict of forces

The French Revolution, even more than the independence of America, typified the profound change which had come over European society in the preceding three centuries—a change but imperfectly described by the mere enumeration of isolated events or movements. The mediæval period had been dominated by three powers, the crown, the church, and the nobility. In it that element we know generically as "business," which so greatly affects the life of to-day, played but a minor part. In it the concerns of intellect, the development of devices to extend man's capacity, much less the infinite complex which goes to make up what we call culture, were relatively neglected, rudimentary, or unknown. Had royal, clerical, and aristocratic dominance continued, it is not prob-

able that this situation would have greatly changed. The number of authors, inventors, scientists, philosophers, and discoverers in those ranks was not large; the quality was even less conspicuous. Whatever those classes contributed to government and the stability of society; however their patronage assisted the advancement of learning and the progress of the arts; they made little direct addition either to knowledge or capacity.

That was pre-eminently the work of what we have come to know as the middle class. This class created a new basis of life and thought. It wrote books, made discoveries in science, produced inventions, composed music, created new styles in architecture, painted pictures, set up new philosophies, investigated the past, explored and exploited the lands beyond the sea, founded new communions, and set commerce and industry among the chief concerns of mankind. From its efforts emerged a new social order. Only in one direction, by the end of the eighteenth century, this middle class or bourgeoisie had made but little progress in their conquest of the affairs of life. Save for the so-called Anglo-Saxon countries, England and America, they had but little voice in those concerns which go under the name of politics. And if there is one generalization more striking than all others in this long history of the creation of a new world of men, it is that the Age of Revolution, which now began in the new world and the old, is, in this view, only the extension of the activities of this class into the realm of politics. They had created a new society, largely in their own image; they were now about to enter upon its government. The royal, clerical, and aristocratic forces had exhausted their mandate in many fields. They were now about to lose control of their last stronghold, the conduct of public affairs. The story of the so-called democratic movements which make up so large a part of the political history of the ensuing century is the narrative of the efforts of this middle class to secure control of the society which they had brought forth. In that conflict the American Revolution had already played its part. With the meeting of the French States-General the struggle was transferred to Europe in a far more definite form. And

though the issue was long undetermined, though the hold of the traditional masters of the state has even yet not been wholly shaken off; it is apparent that the classes which have made the world what it is to-day are now the dominant factors in its affairs.

The French Revolution 1789-

Four years from that eventful 5th of May the raw levies of a republican France faced the veteran arms of more than half the rulers of Europe, outraged by the execution of the French monarch and trembling for the loyalty of their own subjects in the face of a new crusade "waged on governments in behalf of peoples" by the Jacobin apostles of liberty, equality, and fraternity. These had flung into the arena as their gage of battle the head of a king, and by a reign of terror held down their enemies at home. In such hands and under such bloody auspices did Revolution make its entry into the affairs of Europe, and at her summons the whole world of forces which had been developing through the preceding centuries roused to new life. With that there began a new age of European history.

Conclusion

The great circle of events which had begun nearly four centuries earlier with the unfolding of the classical civilization, and the discovery of the lands outside Europe, was now complete. Every continent now held a European population; and Europe was now the dominating factor in world-politics. The realm of nature had begun to yield its secrets to the use of man. Art, letters, and invention had increased his capacity to express himself; the progress of knowledge and thought had enormously developed his range of ideas, and his ability to realize them. His physical comfort had grown in like proportion; and he had reached heights in nearly every field of human endeavor beyond the greatest achievements of the imagination five centuries before. He was possessed of the two greatest instruments which science and politics had been able to devise, the steam-engine and popular government. With them he was prepared to enter upon a new social and industrial inheritance. And, however far he fell short of that great and intangible ideal toward which he strove, whatever tremendous problems

still confronted him, as they must confront every succeeding generation, his feet were set upon new paths, his eyes looked forward to new goals, from which there was to be no turning back. The Expansion of Europe was by no means at an end. But with the beginning of the Age of Revolution and the Age of Steam men had attained the boundaries of that world toward which they had been striving for four hundred years. That realm is still far from being fully explored or conquered—and it may never be; but with the impulse of great achievement and the insatiable thirst for knowledge and power engendered by long striving and success, men had developed that spirit and those qualities to which no undertaking seemed too great, no way too long. And this, in the last resolution of events, remains the ultimate result of those activities which brought them to the borders of the promised land, "strong in will to strive, to seek, to find, and not to yield," the inextinguishable desire to achieve new triumphs in new fields, and the capacity to accomplish them.

BIBLIOGRAPHY.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

GENERAL WORKS

INTRODUCTION AND CHAPTER I

It is obviously impossible to provide such a work as this with a bibliography which is in any sense exhaustive, without an inordinate use of space. The following lists include, therefore, only the titles of such books as seem useful for more extensive treatment of particular subjects or periods, and are fairly accessible to the average reader or student. More minute bibliographies of the principal countries involved are to be found among the following:—

MONOD, *Bibliographie de l'histoire de France* (1888). DAHLMANN-WAITZ, *Quellenkunde der deutschen Geschichte* (8 ed., 1912). NIJHOFF, *Biblioteca Historico-Nederlandica* (1898-99). HIDALGO, *Diccionario general de Bibliografia Española* (1862-81). DE BRITO ARANHA, *Diccionario bibliographico Portuguez* (1858, etc.). For England there is no such compilation, but the bibliographies at the end of the several volumes of HUNT and POOLE'S *Political History of England*, 12 vols., (1912), and OMAN'S *History of England*, 6 vols., London (1912), are good. There is a good specialized bibliography in TRAILL, *Social England* (1895, etc.). For the United States, the bibliographies in the *American Nation* series are especially useful. The principal bibliography proper is the collection of CHANNING, HART, and TURNER, *Guide to the Study of American History* (1912); supplemented by the annual *Writings on American History*. See also LARNED, *Literature of American History* (1902). See also H. PIRENNE, *Bibliographie de l'Histoire de Belgique* (2 ed., 1902); and R. ALTAMIRA Y CREVEA, *Historia de España y de la civilización española*, vol. iv., (1911). To these may be added the *Jahresberichte der Geschichtswissenschaft* (1878, etc.) and the general reviews in the historical periodicals, especially in the *Revue Historique*.

It should perhaps be added that the printed catalogue of the British Museum is the most comprehensive accessible book-list; that of the London Library (last ed., 1914) the most generally useful; while the printed cards issued to subscribers or purchasers by the Library of Congress are the most convenient sources of general bibliography.

For encyclopædic accounts of the period here treated, LAVISSE ET RAMBAUD, *Histoire Générale* (1895) and the *Cambridge Modern History* (1902, etc.) offer the most comprehensive and satisfactory accounts. Each is accompanied by book-lists, of which the latter is by far the fullest yet compiled for European history in general. There is no corresponding work in German, since the older ONCKEN'S *Allgemeine Geschichte in Einzeldarstellungen*, besides being now somewhat antiquated, is arranged on the plan of treating each country separately. For those who wish brief and popular accounts of various countries in

English, the *Stories of the Nations* series offers a fairly complete, though very unequal, collection of sketches.

The general histories of the world, which are usually, like the works noted above, of the syndicate or co-operative type, are none of them beyond criticism. The *Historians' History of the World*, 25 vols., (1908) is a compilation from the writings of a great number and variety of historical writers, connected by running accounts from editorial pens. It contains a considerable bibliography, often of value. HELMOLT'S *History of the World*, available in an English translation from the German original, with an introductory essay by Lord Bryce (1901) is a curious and interesting attempt to write history from an anthropo-geographical standpoint, and deserves consideration as such. The *History of all Nations*, ed. J. H. WRIGHT (1902-05), is a useful adaptation and condensation of the Oncken series.

There are, besides these, a number of encyclopædias and biographical dictionaries, many of which are extremely valuable both in content and bibliography. The most recent, and in many respects the best, is the eleventh edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, in which the bibliographies are a notable feature. The French *Grande Encyclopédie;* the German BROCKHAUS *Konversations Lexikon*, though older, are still valuable. Besides these still, the new *Everyman's Encyclopædia*, the *New International Cyclopædia*, and the *Century Dictionary of Names and Places* each has its own merit for quick and ready reference.

The greatest of biographical publications is the English *Dictionary of National Biography*, which includes a vast amount of bibliographical material in addition to its articles, which are of singularly high and uniform merit. In German the *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, and in French the *Nouvelle Biographie Générale* of HOEFER (1857-66); and the *Biographie Universelle* of MICHAUD (1854-65) are useful. The Austrian *Biographisches Lexikon des Kaiserthums Oesterreich* of WURZBACH (1856-91), and for the Netherlands, VAN DER AA'S *Biographisch Woordenboek der Nederlanden* and MOLHUYSEN and BLOK, *Nieuw Nederlandsch Biografisch Woordenboek* (1911-14) are of value, as is also the *Biographie Nationale de Belgique*—which extends, however, only to "Ryt." (1866-1910).

There are a number of manuals of dates and events which may be found of use in quick reference. Of these the chief is PLOETZ, *Epitome of History*, translated into English by TILLINGHAST, and enriched with American sections by CHANNING. PUTNAM'S *Tabular Views of Universal History* is the most recent and one of the best of these works, and may be supplemented by HASSALL'S *European History 476-1871*. The great French publication, *L'Art de Vérifier les Dates des Faits Historiques*, is invaluable but extends only to the first quarter of the nineteenth century. See also STOKVIS, *Manuel d'histoire de généalogie et de chronologie des tous les états du globe*, 3 vols., (1888-93).

In such a view of history as is here presented, historical geography is an essential; and the past generation has seen the appearance of many valuable contributions to this subject. The older works of DROYSEN and of SPRUNER may be supplemented by those of POOLE and of SCHRADER, and by the more recent geographical volume prepared to accompany the *Cambridge Modern History*. This last, like POOLE and

SCHRADER, includes an interesting running account of the changes noted on the maps. Among the lesser and more easily accessible atlases, designed for school use but of much wider utility, may be noted those of PUTZGER, DOW, MUIR, and SHEPHERD. Of these the last is the most comprehensive and in many ways the most useful. DOW and SHEPHERD are particularly well indexed, which makes them especially valuable. No single historical atlas contains every possible desirable map; for some purposes the older publications of GARDINER and even COLBECK may be found to contain material not accessible in later publications. Finally, no such list would be complete without mention of the great work of NORDENSKIÖLD, the *Facsimile Atlas* (1889), and the *Periplus* (1897), which contain not only magnificent reproductions of fifteenth and sixteenth century maps but a history of early cartography. With these may be mentioned KRETSCHMER'S *Entdeckung Amerika's* (1892) and the contributions made by Professor E. L. STEVENSON to early cartography. And, though it is confined to the Americas, no account of the principal works in this field could omit WINSOR'S *Narrative and Critical History of America* (1886-89), which is replete with geographical and bibliographical, as well as historical, data for the entire period here considered.

There remain to be noted some of the more useful works covering various topics over the whole period between the fifteenth and the nineteenth centuries. In the field of art there are a number of good accounts, of which that of MUTHER, now available in English, is the most readable popular book on the subject of painting. Of architecture the same cannot be said. Perhaps the work of JAMES FERGUSON (1873), though it is now forty years old, is as good as any handbook; though the works of VIOLLET-LE-DUC are at once entertaining and instructive from a historical standpoint; while STURGIS' *History of Architecture* is of considerable value. See especially A. MICHEL, *Histoire de l'art*, 5 vols., (1905-12), and the convenient sketch of S. REINACH.

Literature is far more fortunate, and every European nation boasts a history of its literature, though it would be impossible to enumerate them here, for almost every nation has more than one. Perhaps the most easily accessible work in English on the general subject is the series on the *Periods of European Literature* under the editorship of Professor SAINTSBURY. The *Cambridge History of English Literature*, the series entitled *Les grands écrivains de la France*, and BROCKHAUS, *Bibliothek der deutschen National-Litteratur in 18-19 Jahrhundert*, are useful.

Education is blessed with as great a literature as literature itself so far as the individual countries are concerned, and perhaps even more liberally so far as the general history and aspects of the subject are concerned. A full account of the works on the subject may be found in W. S. MONROE'S *Bibliography of Education* (1897); a briefer, more analytical summary is CUBBERLEY'S *Syllabus of Lectures on the History of Education;* and fairly complete accounts of most educational activities in J. M. BALDWIN, *Dictionary of Philosophy and Psychology*, 3 vols., (1901-05). A convenient general account is P. MONROE'S text-book on the *History of Education* (1905); see, also, his *Cyclopædia of Education*, which contains much bibliographical material.

See also B. RAND, *Bibliography of Philosophy, Psychology*, etc., 3 vols., 1905; in BALDWIN as above; and F. ÜBERWEG, *Grundriss der Geschichte der Philosophie* (1868-98).

The history of scholarship falls far short of that of education in the number though not in the quality of the works on the subject. J. E. SANDY'S *History of Classical Scholarship*, ii., Renaissance, iii., 1908, covers the modern period ably and thoroughly. History is treated with equal fullness in FUETER, *Geschichte der neueren Historiographie* (1911), revised for the French translation, while there is a large variety of monographs upon special subjects, primarily scholarly, but reckoned as educational, noted in the bibliographies in the latter field.

The number of books on the social and economic development of Europe is legion, and it is difficult to choose among them. The great German work of SCHMOLLER, *Grundriss der allgemeinen Volkswirthschaftslehre* (1901-04); PALGRAVE'S *Dictionary of Political Economy* (1894-99); CUNNINGHAM'S *Essay on Western Civilization in its economic aspects* (1898-1900); DAY'S *History of Commerce;* and BUCHER'S *Entstehung der Volkswirthschaft* (1901) translated as *Industrial Evolution*, may be taken as illustrations of the various types of books which would be of use in following out particular phases of the subject, or as works of reference. Similarly in the field of colonization there is a multitude of books on almost every conceivable phase of expansion. In English the work of MORRIS is perhaps the most popular though not a highly scientific work. In German the most considerable book is ZIMMERMANN'S *Die Europäischen Kolonien* (1896). In French, LEROY-BEAULIEU'S *De la Colonisation chez les Peuples modernes* (1908) is of great value. Probably the most satisfactory account, however, is LANNOY and VAN DER LINDEN'S *L'Expansion Coloniale des Peuples Européens*, of which, however, but two volumes have appeared. See also P. HINNEBERG, *Die Kultur der Gegenwart*, a great series covering nearly all departments of human activity, and contributions in many fields (1905, etc.). See in it W. LEXIS, *Allgemeine Volkswirthschaftslehre*, etc., (1910). To this should be added L. ELSTER, *Wörterbuch der Volkswirthschaft* (1898); KONRAD, ELSTER, LEXIS, etc., *Handwörterbuch der Staatswissenschaften* (7 vols., 1898-1901).

The history of science remains to be written in such fullness and with such detail as that of the political or even the cultural activities of modern Europe. There is as yet no adequate history of invention. The old book of BEEKMAN on the subject is a misnamed collection of curious facts. URE'S *Dictionary of Arts, Manufactures, and Mines* (1843) contains much information, but is not a history. The most recent and by far the most valuable compilation is DARMSTAEDTER'S *Handbuch zur Geschichte der Naturwissenschaft und der Technik* (1908), but it is a chronological table and not in any sense a history. Probably the most valuable single addition to the study of the history of science and invention in recent years is comprised in the bibliographies compiled under the auspices of the John Crerar Library by A. G. S. JOSEPHSON (1911-15).

The general history of science is the subject of two very recent books: the one by WILLIAM LIBBY (1917), the other by W. T. SEDGWICK and H.

W. TYLER (1917). There should perhaps be added here besides the various works of BUCKLE, DRAPER, LAMPRECHT, etc., on the development of European civilization; A. D. WHITE, *History of the Warfare of Science and Theology* (1910). But in spite of the excellences of these volumes the subject must be pursued in detail in the accounts of the various separate sciences. In medicine the best books for this period are those of GARRISON, *History of Medicine* (1914), and J. H. BAAS, *Geschichte der Medizin* (1876), Eng. tr., though the more recent volume of BUCK has some interesting material for the Renaissance in its final chapters. See also T. PUSCHMANN (ed.), *Handbuch der Geschichte der Medizin* (1902-05). Probably the most accessible account of the progress of biology is to be found in LOCY'S *Biology and its Makers* (1908), which may profitably be compared with GARRISON. In chemistry the work of VON MEYER, translated by MCGOWAN (1906), is the most authoritative and exhaustive. The most easily available popular history is that of VENABLE (1894). The standard history of physics is GERLAND'S *Geschichte der Physik* (1913). There is no adequate account in English. Mathematics has a large historical literature. Among its numerous titles in English may be noted CAJORI'S *History of Elementary Mathematics* (1896) and BEMAN and SMITH'S translation of FINK'S *Geschichte der Elementar-Mathematik* (1905), under the title *Brief History of Mathematics*, while among more extensive treatises the chief is that of CANTOR. Three recent popular books on astronomy are Sir OLIVER LODGE'S *Pioneers of Science* (1893); W. W. BRYANT'S *History of Astronomy* (1907); and G. FORBES' *History of Astronomy* (1909); the last in PUTMAN'S *History of the Sciences*. See also F. DANNEMANN, *Grundriss einer Geschichte der Naturwissenschaften*, 2 vols., (2 ed., 1902).

The use of explosives and the art of war have not been very scientifically or exhaustively treated in comparison with many subjects here enumerated. KOHLER'S *Die modernen Kriegswaffen*, 2 vols., (1897-1900); HIME'S *Gunpowder and Ammunition* (1904); WEISS' *Waffenkunde*, 3 vols., (1908-09) may be noted as more specifically technical works. See, also, W. W. GREENER, *The Gun and its Development*, and T. F. FREMANTLE, *The Book of the Rifle*. VIOLLET-LE-DUC'S *Annals of a Fortress* is an entertaining volume. Admiral MAHAN'S *Influence of Sea-Power in History* is the classic work on the importance of naval strength. The contributions of successive commanders to the art of war may best be studied in the biographies of individuals, which are fairly numerous and usually of value.

The literature of church history is too vast to receive adequate notice here. Perhaps the best brief book-list is to be found in the printed *Catalogue of the London Library* (last ed., 1915); the fullest bibliography in the *Catholic Encyclopædia* (1907-12), which is the most valuable accessible source for the subject in general. There are also excellent articles and bibliographies in the *Realencyclopaedie für Protestantische Theologie und Kirche* (1896-1913). For the history of the Papacy, see especially those by M. CREIGHTON (1899-1901); L. RANKE (1885); and L. PASTOR (1912). All of these are available in English editions of the dates mentioned, and though each covers a somewhat different field, together they form a comprehensive account for most of the period here

treated. For the Church proper, see W. MOELLER, *History of the Christian Church*, tr. J. H. FREESE (1893-1900); P. SCHAFF, *History of the Christian Church*, and G. P. FISHER, *History of the Christian Church* (1887). These are written from the Protestant standpoint. The principal Catholic works on the subject are those of J. ALZOG, *Manual of Universal Church History*, (tr. 1903); *Cardinal Hergenröther*, revised by J. P. KIRSCH (German only) and F. X. VON FUNK (1911). For the period of the Reformation there is a useful compilation by B. J. KIDD, *Documents Illustrative of the Continental Reformation* (1911). See, also, the *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique* (1904).

GENERAL NOTE.—It is to be observed in the following brief book-lists that no reference is ordinarily made to the works included in the general list above, which may be consulted for many of the subjects comprised in the following chapters.

CHAPTER II

THE RENAISSANCE

Probably the best brief general account in English of the Renaissance remains the article, under that head, by J. A. SYMONDS in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*. His larger work, *The Renaissance in Italy*, 7 vols., and the abridgment of it under the title *A Short History of the Renaissance in Italy*, are standard accounts of that part of the movement. They may be supplemented by BURCKHARDT'S *Die Kultur der Renaissance in Italien*, which is available in an English translation. The most recent summary of the entire movement is HULME'S *Renaissance and Reformation* (1915). The various volumes of MUNTZ on the Renaissance in Italy and France, and Art during the Renaissance, are the standard works in French. There are no easily accessible accounts of the influence of the Renaissance movement on England, Germany, and the Netherlands comparable to these. SEEBOHM'S *Era of the Protestant Revolution*, and his *Oxford Reformers*, contain a good deal of information in a popular form relating to the English Renaissance leaders; while the histories of the English universities, like MULLINGER'S *History of the University of Cambridge*, in particular, RASHDALL'S *Universities of Europe during the Middle Ages*, and the biographies of Erasmus, Melanchthon, and their fellows, throw much light on this period. One should perhaps note also SANDYS' *History of Classical Scholarship* and the biographies of the humanists, from Petrarch through Bracciolini to the members of the Florentine Academy, as well as the Renaissance studies of WALTER PATER. EMERTON'S *Erasmus* (1899); STRAUSS' *Ulrich von Hutten* (translated, 1874); STOKE'S edition of *The Letters of Obscure Men* (1909); the various biographies of Savonarola; VASARI'S *Lives of the Painters* (Bohn Library); and, in fiction, GEORGE ELIOT'S *Romola*, are useful in getting at the spirit of the period. See also the works of P. VILLARI, especially his studies of Machiavelli and his times, Savonarola, etc.,—available in English translations.

For the invention of printing, see DE VINNE'S work on that subject and his *Notable Printers of Italy during the Fifteenth Century* (1910).

The best recent summary of the controversy over the invention of printing is to be found under the heading Typography in the last edition of the *Britannica;* and a good brief bibliography under the heading Gutenberg. For the invention of gunpowder, see HIME, above. For the compass, see BEAZLEY, *Dawn of Modern Geography* (1897), and the brief account in JACOBS' *Story of Geographical Discovery* (1906), with the article and illustrations in NORDENSKIOLD quoted above. In general, these same sources may be consulted for the story of early cartography, with those mentioned among the general bibliography. One of the most scholarly and readable of books in this field is Colonel YULE'S edition of *Marco Polo's Travels* (1871, etc.) and his *Cathay and the Way Thither* (1866). JACOBS' *Story of Geographical Discovery* is the best work of its size on the general subject. See also the various works of J. KOHL on his travels in many lands during the nineteenth century—especially useful in regard to Russia for earlier periods. The latter are available in English. RUGE'S *Geschichte des Zeitalters der Entdeckungen* (Oncken series, 1881) is good, and the great literature arising from the controversy over Columbus, *q.v.*, contains much material on the subject of exploration and cartography prior to his time. JOHNSTON'S *History of the Colonization of Africa by Alien Races* (1899) contains some slight account of the earlier period, as does R. BROWN'S *Story of Africa,* 4 vols., (1894-95). In particular a number of the publications of the Hakluyt Society, such as BEAZLEY'S editions of Carpini, Rubruquis, etc., are of the utmost value and interest to the early history of geography and exploration. For the bibliography of the Renaissance as well as the Middle Ages, see also L. J. PAETOW, *Guide to the Study of Mediæval History* (Univ. of California, 1917).

CHAPTER III

THE BEGINNING OF EXPANSION

For the Age of Prince Henry the Navigator and for his achievements, probably the best brief account is the biography by C. R. BEAZLEY (1890), though the earlier work of R. H. MAJOR is not without merit. DANVERS' *The Portuguese in India* (1894) is a very useful book, as is H. MORSE STEPHENS' *Story of Portugal* (1891). In this connection may be noted the various publications of the Hakluyt Society and of the Geographical Society relating to early Portuguese activities along the African coast. For Behaim, see RAVENSTEIN'S *Martin de Bohemia* (1900) and various articles in the *Geographical Journal.* For Vasco da Gama the best account is RAVENSTEIN'S *Vasco da Gama's First Voyage* (Hakluyt Society, 1898), and CORREA'S *Three Voyages of da Gama* (same, 1868). Beside the work of K. G. JAYNE on *Vasco da Gama and his Successors* (1910), see J. P. OLIVEIRO MARTINS' *The Golden Age of Prince Henry the Navigator,* trans. with notes, etc., (1914).

The Columbus literature is endless. Probably the best of the more recent popular accounts which takes cognizance of the results of the long controversy is F. YOUNG'S *Christopher Columbus and the New World of his Discovery,* 3 ed., (1912). In general the various publications of

HENRI HARRISSE, especially *Christophe Colomb* (1892), *John Cabot* (1896), and *The Discovery of North America* (1892), and those of HENRI VIGNAUD, in particular his *Histoire Critique de la Grande Entreprise de Christophe Colombe*, 2 vols., (1911), are most notable contributions to the argument. E. G. BOURNE'S *Spain in America* (1904) and his contributions to the general subject of Columbus and the discoveries are also of the greatest value.

CHAPTER IV

THE DEVELOPMENT OF NATIONAL STATES

The best scholarly account of the French monarchy and the relations between France and England during the fifteenth century is to be found in LAVISSE, *Histoire de France*, a co-operative history which is of the first rank not only for this but for succeeding periods. See also H. HAUSER, *Les sources de l'Histoire de France, 1494-1610* (1906-12). There is no equally good account in English, the work of KITCHIN being antiquated, dull, and almost entirely political. English history during the fifteenth century is exhaustively treated in VICKERS' *England in the Later Middle Ages;* in GAIRDNER, *The Houses of Lancaster and York* (1874, etc.), and in the painstaking though not very readable work of RAMSAY, *Lancaster and York* (1892). The early Tudor period has been most ably handled by H. A. L. FISHER in the Hunt and Poole series, 1906. In this period, as throughout, H. D. TRAILL'S *Social England*, a co-operative history, is extremely useful, and, especially in its illustrated form, unusually interesting. CUNNINGHAM'S *English Industry and Commerce* will also be found helpful.

For Spanish history in the fifteenth century the older work of PRESCOTT, *Ferdinand and Isabella*, is still as readable as ever, but it has in some measure been superseded on the scholarly side by other works. Of these perhaps the most accessible, though not of much value, is that of U. R. BURKE, *A History of Spain to the Death of Ferdinand*, edited by M. A. S. HUME (1900). G. DIERCK'S *Geschichte Spaniens* (1895-96) is much better. R. B. MERRIMAN'S history of the *Rise of the Spanish Empire in the Old World and the New*, of which the first two volumes now in press carry the story to 1516, will be still better for this period. For Portugal, the best available work is H. M. STEPHENS' *Story of Portugal* in the *Stories of the Nations* series. The great collection of documents relating to Spanish history, that of NAVARRETE and his collaborators (1842-92) is especially valuable for a somewhat later period. There is no similar collection available for Portugal.

For Germany and the Empire perhaps the best recent history available in English is the popular work of JANSSEN, though it leaves much to be desired. E. F. HENDERSON'S *History of Germany* (1906) is a good popular account. A more detailed study of German history in the fifteenth century is A. BACHMANN'S *Deutsche Reichsgeschichte im Zeitalter Friedrichs III u. Maximilians I* (1884-94); and, still more detailed, that of K. KASER, *Deutsche Geschichte zur Zeit Maximilians I* (1912). Beside these the work of F. KRONES, *Handbuch der Geschichte*

Oesterreichs (1876-79), and RANKE'S *History of the Latin and Teutonic Nations* (1494-1519), translated, in Bohn Library (1915), are to be noted.

For Russia there are available the translation of A. RAMBAUD'S *History of Russia* (1879), and W. R. A. MORFILL'S *Russia*, in the *Stories of the Nations* series, with a history of Poland by the same author, in the same series. More recent and in some respects more satisfactory is *Slavonic Europe* by R. N. BAIN (1908) and KLIUCHEVSKY'S *History of Russia* (translation, 1911-13). There is no very satisfactory history of Turkey in English; J. VON HAMMER BURGSTALL (usually cited as HAMMER), *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reichs*, 10 vols., 2 ed., (1840) is the basis of most of them. Perhaps the volume of S. LANE POOLE, in the *Stories of the Nations* series (1888), is the most easily accessible account. The most recent work in German is that of N. JORGA, *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reichs*, 5 vols., (1908-13).

For Hungary there is accessible C. M. KNATCHBULL-HUGESSEN'S *Political Evolution of the Hungarian Nation*, 2 vols., (1908); for the Medici, G. F. YOUNG'S *The Medici*, 2 vols., (1909), and ARMSTRONG'S *Lorenzo de Medici* (1897); for Venice, H. F. BROWN'S translation of MOLMENTI'S *Venice*, 6 vols., (1906-08); for the Papacy, L. PASTOR, *Geschichte der Päpste*, 6 vols., (1886-1913), Eng. tr. by ANTROBUS and KERR (1891-1912); for Russia, K. WALISZEWSKI'S *Ivan le Terrible* (1904).

CHAPTER V

EUROPEAN POLITICS. 1492-1521

For the period of the Italian wars, in addition to the works enumerated in the preceding sections, reference may be made to H. F. DELABORDE'S *Expédition de Charles VIII en Italie* (1888) and L. G. PELISSIER'S *Louis XII et Ludovic Sforza* (1896). For Francis I, see the bibliographies in LAVISSE, and BOURILLY in *Revue d'Histoire Moderne et Contemporaine*, vol. iv., (1902-03). For Charles V, the most accessible work is that of E. ARMSTRONG, *Charles the Fifth* (1902), and the most elaborate that of H. BAUMGARTEN, *Karl der Fünfte*, 3 vols., to 1539 (1885-92). For the rivalry between these two monarchs see the detailed study of MIGNET, *La Rivalité de François I et Charles Quint*, 2 vols., 2 ed., (1875). The older work of ROBERTSON, *Charles V*, is still worth reading. There is a good brief and general account, clear and well organized, of the politics of this whole period, in A. H. JOHNSON, *Europe in the Sixteenth Century*, 2 ed., (1898). See also, especially for the fifteenth century, E. EMERTON, *The Beginnings of Modern Europe* (1917).

For England under Henry VIII, see BREWER'S *The Reign of Henry VIII*, 2 vols., (1884); A. F. POLLARD'S *Henry VIII* (1902); RANKE'S *English History*, mainly in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, a translation (1875); H. A. L. FISHER'S *History of England*, 1485-1547, as above; and for the more picturesque side of the reign, the various studies of J. A. FROUDE—especially his *History of England from the Fall of Wolsey* (1870-72). For a more general account, see W. BUSCH,

England unter die Tudors (1892), Eng. tr. by A. M. TODD, introd. by J. GAIRDNER (1895).

For Spain, the Netherlands, and the Empire, see the lives of Charles V, as above; BLOK'S *History of the People of the Netherlands*, a translation (1900, etc.); M. A. S. HUME'S *Spain, its Greatness and Decay, 1479-1788* (1898)—better for the later part; H. PIRENNE, *Histoire de Belgique*—also in German in Heeren-Ukert series—(1899-1907); the works of PRESCOTT, now somewhat out of date but still readable and informing; RANKE'S *Deutsche Geschichte im Zeitalter der Reformation* (1882), and C. EGELHAAF'S work under the same title (1893). K. HÄBLER'S *Geschichte Spaniens unter den Habsburgen* (1907) includes much new material of interest, though it must be accepted with caution.

For Italy in this period, see R. MAULDE LA CLAVIÈRE'S *La Diplomatie au temps de Machiavel*, 3 vols., (1892-93); RANKE'S *History of the Popes*, translated in Bohn Library (1913); M. CREIGHTON'S *History of the Papacy during the Reformation*, 6 vols., (1882); W. ROSCOE'S *Life and Pontificate of Leo X*, 4 vols., 5 ed., (1846); and SYMONDS' and PASTOR'S works, as noted above.

CHAPTER VI

SPAIN AND PORTUGAL. 1498-1521

For the early history of Spanish America, its organization and exploitation, there are a number of important works covering special fields. The older book of Sir A. HELPS, *The Spanish Conquest of America*, though it has appeared in a new edition (1900-04) and contains much excellent material, is at once discursive and biassed. PRESCOTT'S *Conquest of Mexico* and *Conquest of Peru* retain their picturesque value; but his conclusions, like those of HELPS, must be greatly modified by more recent investigation. Probably the best account of Spanish activities in America is that of E. G. BOURNE, *Spain in America* (1904). W. ROSCHER'S *The Spanish Colonial System*, an extract from his larger work translated by E. G. BOURNE (1904), is excellent. W. R. SHEPHERD'S *Latin America* (1914) is a good slight sketch, and the volumes of B. MOSES on Spanish administration are worthy of attention. For the conquests, F. A. MACNUTT'S *Life of Cortes* (1909), his edition of *Cortes' Letters* (1908), and the *Historia de la Conquista de Mejico* of BERNARDO DIAZ DEL CASTILLO (1632), available in translation, afford the best picture of Cortes' adventure. To these may be added the works of the Spanish historians: OVIEDO, *Historia General y Natural de las Indias*, 4 vols., (1851-55), and HERRARA, *Historia General de las Indias* (1828-30), and NAVARRETE. For the entire subject reference should be made to the monumental work of H. H. BANCROFT, *The Native Races of the Pacific States*, 5 vols., (1874-76), and to his *History of the Pacific States*, 21 vols., (1882-90), including *Central America*, 3 vols., (1885-87).

For Magellan and Spanish activities in the East the chief sources are the narrative of PIGAFETTA printed in RAMUSIO'S collection of travels, 1563-74, many of which, together with that of an unknown Portuguese and many others relating to this subject, are available in

the Hakluyt Society publications. A great amount of original material on this and kindred subjects is contained in the admirable work of BLAIR and ROBERTSON, *The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898*, 53 vols., (1903-07). The best life of Magellan is that of GUILLEMARD (1891).

For the Portuguese in Africa and the East the best general account is that of F. C. DANVERS, *The Portuguese in India*, 2 vols., (1894). K. G. JAYNE'S *Vasco da Gama and his Successors, 1460-1580* (1910) is good; and H. M. STEPHENS' *Albuquerque and the Portuguese Settlements in India* (1892) is the best brief account of that period. ALBUQUERQUE'S *Commentaries* are perhaps the chief source for this subject. For the Portuguese in South Africa, see G. M. THEAL'S work under that title (1907). A. MARVAUD'S *Le Portugal et ses Colonies* (1912) is among the most recent volumes on this subject.

CHAPTER VII

THE RENAISSANCE AND THE REFORMATION. 1492-1521

For the general subject of the later Renaissance, reference may be made to the works included in the preliminary list of comprehensive titles and the bibliography of Chapter I, with some titles in Chapter II. There are, however, a number of special studies which may be mentioned here. Among them are L. EINSTEIN'S *Italian Renaissance in England* (1902) and W. H. WOODWARD, *Vittorino da Feltre and other Humanist Educators* (1897), together with the older book of G. VOIGT, *Die Wiederbelebung des Classischen Alterthums, oder das erste Jahrhundert des Humanismus* (3 ed., 1893), and the admirable recent work of TAYLOR, *The Mediæval Mind*. See also C. BURSIAN'S *Geschichte der Classischen Philologie in Deutschland* (1883) and GEIGER'S *Renaissance u. Humanismus in Italien u. Deutschland* (1882). A fairly good book-list will be found in the *Cambridge Modern History*, vol. i, bibliographical section.

Among the volumes interesting or important for the eve of the Reformation may be noted ERASMUS' *Letters*, translated by NICHOLS (1901); B. A. GASQUET, *The Eve of the Reformation* (1900); F. W. FARRAR, *History of Interpretation* (1886); and B. J. KIDD, *Documents Illustrative of the Continental Reformation* (1911). See, also, W. WALKER, *The Reformation*. For the history of the Inquisition, the standard works are those of H. C. LEA. The most recent suggestive work on the early Reformation is that of P. IMBART DE LA TOUR, *Les Origines de la Réforme*, 2 vols., (1905-09). Among earlier works it is necessary to note *The Reformation*, by J. J. I. DÖLLINGER (1853-54); LAMPRECHT'S *Deutsche Geschichte*, vol. v., (1896)—interesting if not always sound in its generalizations; A. E. BERGER'S *Die Kulturaufgaben der Reformation*, 2 ed., (1908); J. S. SCHAPIRO'S *Social Reform and the Reformation* (1909). For the Indulgence controversy, see H. C. LEA'S *History of Auricular Confession and Indulgences*, 3 vols., (1896); E. BEATKE'S *Luther's 95 Theses u. ihren Dogmenhistorischen Voraussetzungen* (1884); and W. KÖHLER'S *Dokumente zum Ablassstreit von 1517* (1902). See, also, A. SCHULTE, *Die Fugger in Rom*. There are innumerable biographies of Luther, among whose authors may be named KOLDE,

KÖSTLIN, LINDSAY, BEARD, MCGIFFERT, SMITH, DENIFLE, and GRISAR—the last two being Catholic historians.

On the development of the technique of painting probably the best work in English is that of P. G. HAMERTON (1882). H. N. HUMPHREYS' *History of the Art of Printing* (1867) and BIGMORE and WYMAN'S *Bibliography of Printing* serve as an introduction to the great literature on this subject. For more recent publications there is a good book-list in the article Typography in the *Britannica*, 11th ed.

CHAPTER VIII

REFORM AND POLITICS. 1521-1542

Many of the books most important for the study of this period have been noted in the bibliographies of the preceding chapters. It remains to enumerate those on the subjects not treated there. Among them is the history of the Ottoman Turks under Suleiman the Magnificent. Here the study of RANKE, *Die Osmanen u. die Spanische Monarchie im 16ten u. 17ten Jahrhundert*, and the great work of J. VON HAMMER (1834-35) are noteworthy. The recent study of A. H. LYBYER, *The Government of the Ottoman Empire in the Time of Suleiman the Magnificent* (1913), is valuable on the administrative side, and contains a good bibliography. To this may be added the monographs of E. CAT, *De Caroli V in Africa rebus gestis* (1891), and of J. ZELLER, *La Diplomatie Française au milieu du xvi Siècle* (1881), together with H. F. BROWN'S *Venice* (1893).

Among other works of interest in connection with the Reformation movement may be noted Cardinal F. A. GASQUET, *Edward VI and the Book of Common Prayer* (1890) and his *Henry VIII and the English Monasteries* (1888-89). In this connection there is an excellent essay in J. A. FROUDE'S *Short Studies on Great Subjects*, "The Annals of an Abbey."

The subject of the rebellion of the knights and the peasants in Germany has received great attention. E. B. BAX, *The Peasants' War in Germany* (1899), gives a general popular account of the latter, concerning which there is a long list of German monographs, many of which are listed in the *Camb. Mod. Hist.*, vol. ii, p. 753. There is a good biography of Ulrich von Hutten by STRAUSS, translated by STURGE (1874), and one of von Sickingen by H. ULMANN (1872). The bibliography of the German Reformation is too long to find any adequate representation here but is easily accessible in the general works noted in the bibliographical introduction, where may also be found an account of Reformation literature in general, which can only be touched on here. W. W. Rockwell has prepared a recent bibliography of the whole for the centenary of 1917.

For the Swiss reformation the best English biography of Zwingli is that of S. M. JACKSON (1901), who has also edited Zwingli's writings. The best accessible English biography of Calvin is W. WALKER'S (1906). H. M. BAIRD'S *Beza* (1899) and his *Rise of the Huguenots in France* (1879) are useful. P. H. BROWN'S *Life of John Knox* (1895) and A. LANG'S *Knox and the Reformation* (1905) cover the Scotch

period and give side-lights on Geneva. The Autobiography of Loyola is available in the English translation of J. F. X. O'Conor (1900), and his *Life*, by F. Thompson (1910), is the latest presentment of that subject and of the early years of the Jesuits. Their activities in the various countries form the subject of a series of national histories now appearing under their auspices. The works of Calvin have been repeatedly republished in every north-European language and in innumerable forms. And it may be interesting in this connection to call attention to A. Harnack's *History of Dogma*, available in English, for a general comparative view of the results of this period.

CHAPTER IX

EUROPE BEYOND THE SEA. 1521-1542

For the work of Cortez see the bibliography of Chapter VI. There is no biography of any importance of Pizarro. Sir C. Markham's *History of Peru* (1892) and his *Incas of Peru* (1910) touch on Pizarro's conquest and may be supplemented by the general works cited previously, and by Garcillassao de la Vega's *Royal Commentaries of the Incas*, translated in Hakluyt Society publications. The treatment of the Indians is the subject of much discussion, the sanest summary of modern opinion being probably that of Bourne, as above. Las Casas' great indictment of his countrymen, the *Brevissima Relacion de la Destruycion des las Indias Occidentales* and his *Historia de las Indias* are not available in English but that lack is partially supplied by the biographies of Las Casas by Sir A. Helps (1868) and F. A. MacNutt (1909). To these may be added W. Lowery's *Spanish Settlements*, 2 vols., (1901-05).

The explorations are the subject of an unusually large literature, for which the bibliographies in Bourne's *Spain in America*, in Winsor's *Narrative and Critical History*, and in the publication known as *Writings on American History* (1902 ff.), may act as guides. There are several available narratives of the explorers, that of Coronado, edited by Winship (1904); that of Cabeça de Vaca, by Smith (1866); that of De Soto, by Bourne (1904). Navarrete's *Coleccion de los Viages y Descubrimientos*, 5 vols., (1825-37), is useful for this period as for the earlier.

The so-called *New Laws of Charles V* are available in several Spanish but no English editions. The import of specie from the American colonies has been made the subject of a number of studies, the latest and perhaps the most satisfactory being that of C. H. Haring, in the *Quarterly Journal of Economics* for May, 1915. See also his *Trade and Navigation between Spain and the Indies under the Hapsburgs* (1918).

There is no adequate history of Brazil in English. The Brazilian-Portuguese history of C. de Abreu, *Descobrimento do Brazil e seu desenvolvimento no seculo xix* (1883), the various accounts of its colonial development in the general histories of colonies, and the brief and not very satisfactory sketch in Dawson's *South America* in the *Stories of the Nations* series, may suffice for an introduction to its history.

The explorations of the French are treated in many volumes relating to North America and colonial history. Among these, PARKMAN'S *Pioneers of France* (1865) remains the most readable account. CARTIER'S *Narrative* has been published by J. P. Baxter (1906) and by the University of Toronto; H. P. BIGGAR, *The Precursors of Jacques Cartier*, etc., (documents, Canadian gov't publications). See, also, J. F. JAMESON (ed.), *Original Narratives of Early American History.*

CHAPTER X

SOCIAL AND INTELLECTUAL EUROPE. 1521-1542

The developments of science in the sixteenth century have been treated in a multitude of monographs widely scattered in time and place. Some of them may be found listed in the CREBAR *Bibliographies*, noted above; and many more in the scientific journals. But a general bibliography of such material is still desired. Apart from the histories of mathematics, the work of Copernicus has been elaborately treated in L. PROWE'S *Nicolaus Copernicus*, 2 vols., (1883-84), and that of his predecessors in G. V. SCHIAPARELLI'S *I Precursori del Copernico nell' Antichità* (1873). F. H. GARRISON'S *History of Medicine* (1914), apart from its other virtues, contains a great amount of medical bibliography of value and interest to the general reader as well as to the specialist. The life of Vesalius (which finds no place in the *Britannica*) has been the subject of two biographies, one in German by M. ROTH (1892), the other in English by J. M. BALL (1910). The other biographical material may be found in Garrison.

The history of art has been more fortunate and there is a wealth of material upon painters and their work. Reference may be made briefly to some recent works. WÖLFFLIN, *The Art of the Italian Renaissance* (1903); CROWE and CAVALCASELLE, *History of Painting in Italy; Early Flemish Painting* (1879); DIMIER, *French Painting in the 16th Century;* L. F. FREEMAN, *Italian Sculptors of the Renaissance* (1902); H. JANITSCHEK, *Geschichte der Deutschen Malerei* (1890). The source for much of the material relating to Italian art of this period is VASARI'S *Lives of the Painters* (1550-68), which is available in many translations. There are several biographies of the younger Holbein which throw light upon his period. Among them may be mentioned those of H. KNACKFUSS (1899) and of G. S. DAVIES (1903).

The social and economic changes of the sixteenth century may be studied in EHRENBERG, *Das Zeitalter der Fugger* (1896); W. NAUDÉ, *Die Getreidehandelspolitik der Europäischen Staaten vom 13ten bis zum 18ten Jahrhundert* (1896); WIEBE, *Zur Geschichte der Preisrevolution des xvi u. xvii Jahrhunderts* (1895); W. J. ASHLEY, *Introduction to English Economic History and Theory*, 4 ed., (1913); G. UNWIN, *Industrial Organization in the 16th and 17th Centuries* (1904) and his *Gilds and Companies of London* (1908); W. CUNNINGHAM, *Growth of English Industry and Commerce in the Middle Ages*, 4 ed., (1904), *in Modern Times*, 5 ed., (1912); M. KOVALESKY, *Die Oekonomische Entwicklung Europas bis zum Beginn der Kapitalischen Wirthschaftsform*, 7 vols., German from Russian (1901-14).

CHAPTER XI

THE AGE OF THE COUNCIL OF TRENT. 1542-1563

The best known work in English on the Council of Trent is that of FROUDE (1896); in German, probably that of MAURENBRECHER (1886-90); in French, the much older work of PRAT (1854). H. MÜLLER'S *Les Origines de la Compagnie de Jésus, Ignace et Laincz* (1898), and C. SOMMERVOGEL'S *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jésus* (1890, etc.) afford an introduction to that vast and intricate subject. REUSCH'S *Der Index der Verbotenen Bücher* (1885) and the current issues of the *Index* illuminate that subject. The great work of SARPI on the Council of Trent and its answer by PALLAVICINI afford the basis for much of the history of its activities. They have been critically examined by RANKE in his *History of the Popes*, which affords a check on each, and on FROUDE. For the history of dogma, see HARNACK, as above. The history of political theory has been clearly set forth by W. A. DUNNING in his *History of Political Theories from Luther to Montesquieu* (1905). H. HÖFFDING'S *History of Modern Philosophy* (1900), P. JANET'S *Histoire de la Science Politique dans ses Rapports avec la Morale* (1887), and BAX'S *The Social Side of the Reformation in Germany* may be read with profit.

The history of the different European countries during this period may be found in the general works listed under the preceding chapters. To them may be added H. M. BAIRD, *History of the Rise of the Huguenots in France* (1879-80); J. M. STONE, *History of Mary I* (1901); J. L. MOTLEY, *Rise of the Dutch Republic* (1855, etc.); HAAG, *France Protestante*, 2 ed., (1877-95); LINGARD'S *History of England* (Catholic—many editions); STEPHENS and HUNT, *History of the Church of England*—a co-operative work (1902 ff.); S. R. MAITLAND'S *Essays on the Reformation* (repr.-Introd. by A. W. HUTTON, 1899); A. W. WARD'S *Brief Sketch of the Counter-Reformation* (1889). For the part of the enigmatical Maurice of Saxony in German affairs, see E. BRANDENBURG, *Moritz von Sachsen* (1898); for the Schmalkaldic War, see G. VOIGT, *Geschichtsschreibung über den Schmalkaldischen Krieg* (1874), and G. WOLF, *Der Augsburger Religionsfriede* (1890).

CHAPTER XII

THE AGE OF PHILIP II AND THE RELIGIOUS WARS

For the reign and character of Philip II perhaps the most easily accessible works in English are those of PRESCOTT, MOTLEY, and M. A. S. HUME, all of which are written from a more or less hostile standpoint. A more favorable view by a Danish scholar is BRATLI, *Philippe II roi d'Espagne* (1912). M. PHILIPPSON'S *Zeitalter von Philip II u. Elisabeth* is perhaps less biassed, as is the work of RANKE. In Spanish there is the work of L. CABRERA DE CORDOBA, *La Historia de Felipe II* (1876), and in French that of H. FORNERON, *Histoire de Philippe II*, 4 vols., (1881-82).

For the history of France during this period, see ARMSTRONG, *French*

Wars of Religion (1892), and RANKE, *Civil Wars and Monarchy in France*. The best and most recent study on this subject, however, is that of J. W. THOMPSON, *Wars of Religion in France* (1909). The little biography of Coligni by WALTER BESANT is a very readable though not a very scholarly account; while E. ARMSTRONG'S *The Huguenots and Henry of Navarre* (1887) is longer and better. For the civil wars and Catherine de Medici, see COMTE H. DE LA FERRIÉRE, who has written extensively on the subject, chiefly in monographs.

For the Netherlands, besides MOTLEY and BLOK, the more recent biography of William the Silent by Miss R. PUTNAM, 2 vols., (1895), gives the more modern view of his career and character; while the essay by F. HARRISON (1897) offers some interesting views. The extensive work of KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE on *Les Huguenots et les Gueux*, 6 vols., (1883-85) is the best authority on that relationship, but the many contributions of "the Dutch Ranke," FRUIN, including his *Tien jaren nit den tachtigjarigen oorlog* (1861), form by far the most valuable contribution to the history of the period.

Elizabethan England is the subject of a vast literature. BEESLEY'S *Queen Elizabeth* (1892) is a brief readable biography, as is M. CREIGHTON'S work under the same title (1896). M. A. S. HUME'S *The Great Lord Burghley* (1898) and the *Courtships of Queen Elizabeth* (1896) are of interest and importance. The histories of England in the Hunt and Poole and the Oman series are good; while for Ireland the work of BAGWELL, though not interesting reading, has virtually superseded all others in its minute accuracy. FROUDE'S *English Seamen in the 16th Century* (1895), chiefly derived from Hakluyt, is a fascinating book with little scholarly value. To these should be added W. STIRLING MAXWELL'S *Don John of Austria*, 2 vols., (1883); and A. O. MEYER, *England u. d. Katholische Kirche* (1911); as well as the most recent and scholarly history of England in this period by E. P. CHEYNEY, of which the first volume has appeared.

For the acquisition of Portugal by Philip II, see J. ESTÉBANEZ CALDERON, *La conquista y perdida de Portugal* (1885). For the expulsion of the Moors, see H. C. LEA, *The Moriscos of Spain* (1901), and S. LANE POOLE, *The Moors in Spain* (1897).

The literature on Mary, Queen of Scots, is as endless as the controversy which still rages concerning her character and career. It is only possible to observe here that there is a good book-list of it in the *Cambridge Modern History*, vol. iii, p. 810.

With regard to the early English chartered companies the best book on the whole is that of P. BONNASIEUX, *Les Grandes Compagnies de Commerce* (1892). The volume of CAWSTON and KEANE on *The Early Chartered Companies* (1896) is too brief and general. The publications of the University of Pennsylvania contain some interesting and important studies on this subject; the material for which, however, save for the East India Company, is relatively scanty and unsatisfactory.

The expansion of Russia and the Europeanization of its people is a subject not very easily accessible in west-European languages beyond the general histories. The volumes of A. KRAUSSE, *Russia in Asia* (1899), and of H. LANSDELL, *Russia in Central Asia*, 2 vols., (1885),

with works like that of G. TOLSTOY, *The First Forty Years of Intercourse between England and Russia* (1875), and of A. BRÜCKNER, *Die Europäisierung Russlands* (1888), with the accounts of the various travelers and ambassadors as contained in Hakluyt and Purchas, and in published diplomatic correspondence, comprise the available material on a subject which deserves more treatment in English. See, also, the article by Mme. LUBIMENKO in the *American Historical Review*, XIX, 525.

CHAPTER XIII

THE CONDITIONS OF CONFLICT. 1578-1588

For the condition of Spain and Portugal, see the works enumerated in the general and chapter bibliographies as above. For the Spanish navy, see C. DURO FERNANDEZ, *La Armada Española*, etc., (1896-97). For the English navy, see J. CORBETT, *Drake and the Tudor Navy*, 2 vols., (1898). These should be compared with BOUREL DE LA RONCIÈRE'S *Histoire de la Marine Française;* R. H. COLOMB, *Naval Warfare*, 2 ed. (1895); Sir W. L. CLOWES, *The Royal Navy*, 7 vols., (1897-1903); and OPPENHEIM, *History of the Administration of the Royal Navy* (1896).

For Mercator there are works by RAEMDONCK, BREUSING, WAUWERMANS, and VAN ORTROY, and for Belgian cartography, H. E. WAUWERMANS, *Histoire de l'École Cartographique Belge et Anversoise du xvi Siècle*, 2 vols., (1895), is good.

See, also, L. BATIFFOL, *The Century of the Renaissance in France*, tr. E. F. BUCKLEY (1916).

CHAPTER XIV

THE ARMADA. 1575-1588

For the exploits of Drake, see CORBETT'S *Drake and the Tudor Navy*, as above, and his brief biography of Drake (1890). The pages of Hakluyt are full of the accounts of the exploits of Drake and his companions; and there is much material in the publications of the Hakluyt Society relating to the same subjects. See, also, E. JONES, *Life of Frobisher* (1878). For Polar exploration, see A. W. GREELY'S *Handbook of Polar Discovery*, 4 ed., (1910), which contains much interesting information, and for the literature of the subject, see J. CHAVANNE. The articles and bibliographies under the individual names in the *Dictionary of National Biography* are, in general, especially good.

For Ireland, see BAGWELL, as above, and lists in J. KING'S *Irish Bibliography*. One of the best books on Ireland is BONN'S *Englische Kolonisation in Irland*. Most of the volumes on Ireland, however, are, like FROUDE'S *English in Ireland*, so highly controversial as to be good reading but poor history.

For the Armada, see C. DURO FERNANDEZ, *La Armada Invencible*, 2 vols., (1884-85), and the account of the Armada in Hakluyt and in the various works quoted above under English, Spanish, and naval

history. The most brilliant account in English is unquestionably that of FROUDE, which partakes of all the qualities which made him what he was.

CHAPTER XV

THE AGE OF ELIZABETH AND THE ANGLO-DUTCH INVASION OF THE EAST. 1583-1601

For the general naval operations, see the works quoted above on English and Spanish history. To these may be added J. A. FROUDE, *The Spanish Story of the Armada* (1892); M. A. S. HUME, *The Year after the Armada*, etc., (1896); W. F. TILTON, *Die Katastrophe der Spanischen Armada* (1894). *Purchas His Pilgrimes*—the corollary of Hakluyt—is the source of a great amount of material relating to the adventures of the English in the East; and the publications of the Hakluyt Society contain many of the narratives of the adventurers, notably that of LANCASTER (1877), ROE'S *Embassy to the Great Mogul* (1889), DE VEER'S *Voyages of Barentz* (1876), and the like. BURNELL and TIELE'S *Voyage of J. H. van Linschoten to the East Indies* (1885) and the old collections of Kerr and Renneville have still others. The best *Life of Raleigh* is that of E. EDWARDS, 2 vols., (1868), but there are several shorter and more recent biographies containing new material, by GOSSE, STEBBING, HUME, and DE SELINCOURT. See, also, S. R. GARDINER'S *History of England* (1883-84).

Of secondary works, W. W. HUNTER'S *History of British India* (1899-1900) and many of his other voluminous works contain a great amount of information relating to the subject; while the chief source for the early years of the English India Company is the collection of its papers edited by BIRDWOOD. C. DAY, *The Dutch in Java*, is the authority for its subject. J. DE LA GRAVIÈRE, *Les Anglais et les Hollandais dans les Mers Polaires et dans les Mer des Indes* (1890), covers precisely this field. The Dutch material is catalogued to 1875 in J. A. VAN DER CHIJS, *Nederlandsche Indische Bibliographie*, in his publication of that date; while the older work of TIELE, *Mémoire bibliographique sur les journaux des navigateurs Néerlandais* (1867), still has value. Most important of all is the *Encyclopedic van Nederlandsch-Indie* (1896).

For the Dutch East India Company, see J. K. J. DE JONGE, *De Opkomst van het Nederlandsch gezag in oost-Indien*, 13 vols., (1862-88); J. J. MEINSMA, *Geschiedenis van de Nederlandsche oost-Indische Bezittingen*, 3 vols., (1872-75). The great original of most of these works is the old book of F. VALENTYN, *Beschryving van oud en nieuw oost-Indien*, 8 vols., (1724).

CHAPTER XVI

EUROPE AT THE CLOSE OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

For the economic phases of the late sixteenth century see the works quoted in the bibliography to Chapter X. To these may be added H. D. TRAILL'S *Social England* (1893-98), which contains a vast amount of information and, in the illustrated edition, an unusually informing series

of pictures. For the development of armor and weapons one of the best sources is ELTON'S *Compleat Body of the Art Military* (1668). HEWIT'S *Arms and Armor* and the works of VIOLLET-LE-DUC also contain much valuable and interesting information and many illustrations both of armor and costume. For the latter there is a considerable literature. The *Cyclopedia of Costume*, 2 vols., (1856-57), and RACINET, *Le Costume Historique*, 6 vols., illus., (1888) are useful. For architecture, see R. STURGIS, *History of Architecture* (1906 ff.), and the volumes by FERGUSSON, HAMLIN, and FLETCHER on the same subject. For Palladio, see the lives by ZANELLA (1880) and by BARICHELLA (1880).

It need hardly be said that the literature of the drama and the Elizabethan stage is almost unlimited. The latest, and in many respects the most important, work on that subject is the co-operative work, *The England of Shakespeare* (1916, etc.). Probably the best biography of Shakespeare is that of S. LEE, several editions, the last in 1915. The best accessible bibliography of Shakespeare is in the last edition of the *Britannica*, under his name. For a general account of Elizabethan drama and dramatists, see A. W. WARD, *History of English Dramatic Literature to the Death of Anne* (1899), and the *Cambridge History of English Literature*, edited by WARD and WALLER (1907-16).

For the rise and development of the opera, see the *Oxford History of Music* (1901-05) and G. GROVE'S *Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, edited by MAITLAND (1904-08).

CHAPTER XVII

THE RISE OF HOLLAND AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE BOURBON MONARCHY. 1603-1623

For the character and career of Henry IV of France, see WILLERT'S *Henry of Navarre* in the *Heroes of the Nations* series, and especially E. LAVISSE, *Vie de Sully* (1880), and his *Histoire de France*. The *Mémoires* of Sully are among the most interesting and valuable of the sources, and are available in an English translation. For Henry's Grand Design, see C. A. CORNELIUS, *Der Grosse Plan Heinrichs IV* (1866). The literature of the reign of the most popular of French sovereigns is very great; and an exhaustive bibliography of it is to be found by H. HAUSER in his *Sources de l'histoire de France* (1909). See, also, bibliography to Chapter XII.

For Russia and the beginning of the Romanoffs, see STRAHL and HERMANN'S *Geschichte des Russischen Staates*, vol. iii, (1846); PRINCE E. GALITZIN'S *La Russie du xviie Siècle dans ses Rapports avec l'Europe Occidentale* (1855); R. N. BAIN, *The First Romanovs* (1905); and Hakluyt Society, *Russia at the Close of the 16th Century*, ed. BOND (1856).

For the early years of the seventeenth century in Germany, see GINDELY'S *History of the Thirty Years' War to 1632*, tr. by TEN BROOK (1884), and his various writings in German on the reign of Rudolf II; A. W. WARD, *The House of Austria in the Thirty Years' War* (1869); STIEVE'S *Der Kampf um Donauwörth* (1875); FREYTAG'S *Pictures of German Life in the 17th and 18th Centuries;* WAKEMAN'S *The Ascend-*

ancy of France 1598-1715. The little book of S. R. GARDINER, *The Thirty Years' War,* is a good introduction. For more detailed lists, see the *Cambridge Modern History,* vol. iii; and especially DAHLMANN-WAITZ as quoted in the general bibliographical introduction above.

For the history of England and the policy of James I, see S. R. GARDINER, *History of England from the Accession of James I* (1899-1900), and the volumes in the Hunt and Poole and Oman series.

For the history of the Netherlands, see bibliography for Chapters XII and XV. To the works there quoted may be added J. L. MOTLEY'S *History of the United Netherlands* (1860-67) and his *Life and Death of John of Barneveldt* (1874). In Dutch, the work of J. A. VAN DER CHIJS, *De vestecgiging van her Nederlandsche gezag over de Banda Eilanden 1599-1621* (1886), is good. In German, REES, *Geschiedenis der Koloniale Politiek* (1868), and REUS' *Geschichtlicher Ueberblick der administrativen, rechtlichen u. finanziellen Entwicklung der Niederlandisch-Ostindischen Compagnie* (1894), are among the principal works. For the Dutch in Brazil and Guiana, see articles by L. DRIESEN and G. EDMUNDSON in the *English Historical Review,* vols. xi to xix, passim, and P. M. NETSCHER'S *Les Hollandais au Brésil* (1853) and *Geschiedenis van de Kolonieen Essequibo, Demerary, en Berbice* (1888). One of the best monographs on Dutch colonial expansion is that of J. F. JAMESON, *W. Usselincx* (1887). See also in this subject the elaborate reports prepared by the representatives of the British and American governments in the controversy over the boundary between Venezuela and British Guiana, and published as official documents in 1896-97.

CHAPTER XVIII

ENGLAND, FRANCE, AND HOLLAND IN AMERICA. 1603-1623

The chief bibliographical and cartographical source for this period is the *Narrative and Critical History* of WINSOR, quoted above. The principal popular works on the subject in English are those of JOHN FISKE; and, for the French, those of FRANCIS PARKMAN. There is a vast literature on the subject of the English and Dutch colonies in particular, which may be found for the most part enumerated in CHANNING, HART, and TURNER'S *Guide,* as above. The two volumes of the *American Nation* series, *France in America,* by R. G. THWAITES, and *England in America,* by L. G. TYLER, are brief popular accounts. The best general authorities are E. CHANNING, *History of the United States,* vol. i (1905), BROWN, *Genesis of the United States,* 2 vols., (1891), OSGOOD, *The American Colonies in the 17th Century,* DOYLE, *English Colonies in America,* 5 vols., (1882-1907), and the publications in connection with the Champlain celebration. E. EGGLESTON'S *Beginners of a Nation* (1897) is a good readable account of the Pilgrim Fathers. G. L. BEER'S *Origins of the British Colonial System* (1908), while chiefly devoted to a later period, is of importance. SMITH'S *Narrative* is available in several recent editions, and Champlain's *Voyages* has been translated by Mr. and Mrs. E. G. BOURNE, and more recently edited by W. L. GRANT (1907).

CHAPTER XIX

THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR. 1618-1632

The literature of the Thirty Years' War is too vast to receive any adequate notice here. There is a good brief guide to it in the *Cambridge Modern History* at the end of the volume under that title, and a fairly complete bibliography in DAHLMANN-WAITZ. For the war itself perhaps the best account in English is the translation of GINDELY by TEN BROOK and KLOPP. The best sketch is GARDINER'S *Thirty Years' War* (1874). The work of SCHILLER is a classic not a history; that of HÄUSSER on the Reformation is long since displaced by better work but is still readable. For the history of England, see Chapter XVII. NEAL'S *History of the Puritans*, though an old work, still has value. It is available in many editions. In the matter of biographies the period is prolific. Among them may be noted G. FAGNIEZ, *Le Père Joseph et Richelieu*, 2 vols., (1894); A. GINDELY, *Friedrich V von der Pfalz*, etc., (1884); K. HAUCK, *Elisabeth, Königin von Böhmen*, etc., (1905); F. STIEVE, *Ernst von Mansfeld* (1890), and *Kurfürst Maximilian I von Baiern* (1900); and the biographies of Richelieu by R. LODGE (1896) and by J. B. PERKINS (1900). Perhaps the best biographical material relating to the period is to be found in the *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie* and the *Dictionary of National Biography*.

CHAPTER XX

COMMERCE AND COLONIES. 1621-1642

The biographies of Richelieu and especially those of Champlain contain some account of the beginnings of Canadian settlement and French colonial policy. For the history of Virginia, see FISKE'S *Old Virginia and her Neighbors*, 2 vols., (1900), and BRUCE'S three works on the *Economic* (1896), the *Institutional* (1910), and the *Social Life in Virginia* (1907) during the seventeenth century. For the New England settlements, see FISKE'S *Beginnings of New England* (1889); for New Amsterdam, see J. H. INNES, *New Amsterdam and Its People* (1902) and Mrs. S. VAN RENSSELAER'S excellent *History of the City of New York in the 17th Century* (1909). For the administration of Frederick Henry, see G. EDMUNDSON'S article on Frederick Henry in *English Historical Review* (1890), and the bibliography under his name in *Cambridge Modern History*, vol. iv, p. 931 ff. For Coen, see W. A. TERWOGT'S *Het land van Jan Pieterz. Coen* (1891). For Dutch exploits in Brazil, see F. A. VARNHAGEN'S *Historia das Lutas com os Hollandezes no Brazil desde 1624 a 1654* (1871), and especially P. NETSCHER, *Les Hollandais au Brésil* (1853), with articles as above Chapter XVII. G. M. ASHER'S *Bibliographical and Historical Essay on Dutch books, etc., relating to the New Netherland and the Dutch West India Company* (1854-57) is still useful as a guide to the literature of this not very well worked-up subject, while the same may be said of the old book of BRYAN EDWARDS, *The History of the British Colonies in the West Indies*, 4 ed., (1807), and of EXQUEMELING'S

Buccaneers, available in several editions and various translations. The best sketch of the buccaneers is that by C. H. HARING (1910). For works relating to Spanish and Portuguese America in this period, chiefly contemporary or nearly so, see WINSOR'S *Narrative and Critical History*. For the revolt of Portugal and the regaining of its independence, J. DUNLOP, *Spain during the Reign of Philip IV* (1834); M. A. S. HUME, *History of the Spanish People* (1901) *and Spain: Its Greatness and Decay* (1898). In Spanish, M. LAFUENTE, *Historia de España* (1888); A. CANOVAS DEL CASTILLO, *Estudios del Reinado de Felipe IV* (1889) and F. SILVELA (ed.), *Cartas de Sor Maria de Agrela y del rey Felipe IV* (1885-86) introd.; and in German RANKE, *Fürsten u. Völker von Süd-Europa im 16 u. 17 Jahrhundert* (1874, etc.).

CHAPTER XXI

INTELLECTUAL AND SOCIAL PROGRESS. 1610-1642

For costume and armor see the bibliography to Chapter XVI. For lace-making there are a number of pattern-books of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries; and a *History of the Manufacture of Venetian Laces* by G. M. URBANI DE GHELTOF, tr. by Lady LAYARD. Probably the best work on the subject is that of E. LEFEBVRE, *Embroidery and Lace, their Manufacture and History*, etc., (1888), and another on *Point d'Alençon* by Mme. G. DESPIERRES (1886). For tobacco, see W. BRAGGE'S *Bibliographia Nicotiana* (1880) for the best, yet very incomplete book-list; and FAIRHOLT'S *Tobacco, its History and Associations*, 2 ed., (1876) and TIEDMANN'S *Geschichte des Tabaks* (1856). For tea, see J. G. HOUSSAYE, *Monographie de Thé;* and the bibliography in D. CROLE, *Tea, its Cultivation and Manufacture* (1897). For coffee, see WALSH'S *Coffee, its History* (1902). For chocolate and cocoa, see W. BAKER & Co., *Cocoa and Chocolate, A Short History of their Production and Use* (1899). The historical muse does not seem to have inspired the devotees of strong drink as she has those of the milder beverages. There is a history of the art of distillation and of distilling apparatus by O. SCHREINER (1901), but it is devoted chiefly to volatile oils, and we are compelled to fall back on the articles in the general and technical encyclopædias for information.

For the advance in science, beside the works noted in the general bibliography, see S. A. ARRHENIUS' *Theories of Chemistry* (1907); E. O. VON LIPPMANN'S *Abhandlungen u. Vorträge zur Geschichte der Naturwissenschaften* (1906); E. VON MEYER'S *A History of Chemistry . . . being also an Introduction to the Study of Science* (trans.), (1906); W. RAMSAY, *Essays, Biographical and Chemical* (1908); R. O. MOON'S *The Relation of Medicine to Philosophy* (1909); and, among the many histories of medicine enumerated in the Crerar Library catalogues, and the catalogue of the Surgeon-General's office in Washington which is the most comprehensive of all book-lists relating to the subject. There may also be noted the popular essays of J. J. WALSH, *Makers of Modern Medicine* (1907) and *The Popes and Science* (1908). For Harvey, see R. WILLIS' biography (1878) and the Life by W. MUNK (1879). For Galileo see the edition of his works begun in Florence in 1890; J. J.

FAHIE, *Galileo* (1903); and F. R. WEGG-PROSSER'S *Galileo and his Judges* (1889). For Kepler, C. G. REUSCHLE'S *Kepler u. die Astronomie* (1871) and A. MÜLLER'S *Johann Kepler, der Gesetzgaber der Neueren Astronomie* (1903). For Tycho Brahe, see J. L. E. DREYER'S *Tycho Brahe* (1890). See, also, M. FOSTER'S *History of Physiology during the 16th, 17th and 18th Centuries* (1901), and H. ZEUTHEN'S *Geschichte der Mathematik im 16 u. 17 Jahrhundert* (1903).

For Bacon, see J. SPEDDING'S *Life and Letters of Lord Bacon*, the standard biography; S. LEE'S *Great Englishmen of the 16th Century* (1904); J. M. ROBERTSON'S *Short History of Freethought;* and CH. ADAM'S *Philosophie de Francis Bacon* (1890), besides the histories of philosophy quoted above.

These histories are valuable for Descartes and his philosophy. For more detailed studies, see also E. S. HALDANE, *Descartes, his Life and Times*, including a bibliography (1905), and the article in *Cambridge Modern History*, vol. iv, with bibliography, and N. SMITH, *Studies in the Cartesian Philosophy* (1902). A complete collection of his works was begun in 1907. See, also, R. ADAMSON, *The Development of Modern Philosophy* (1903); K. FISCHER, *History of Modern Philosophy; Descartes and his School*, tr., (1887); and L. LEVY-BRUHL, *History of Modern Philosophy in France*, tr., (1899).

For Grotius, see L. NEUMANN, *Hugo Grotius* (1884). A life and bibliography of Grotius was published by LEHMANN in 1727; an English life by C. BUTLER in 1826; and an English translation of *De Jure Belli* (trans. and abridged) by WHEWELL, in 1853. See also A. PILLET, *Fondateurs du droit international, Grotius* (1904); and the edition of Grotius, ed. J. B. SCOTT, in *Classics of International Law*, Carnegie Inst. (1913—).

For Bruno, see J. LEWIS M'INTYRE'S *Life, Commentary and Bibliography* (1903) and A. RIEHL'S *Biography*, tr., (1905), among several. For Campanella, see L. AMABILE, *Fra T. Campanella*, 3 vols., (1882). There is a bibliography of Campanella in the *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique* (1904).

CHAPTER XXII

THE PEACE OF WESTPHALIA AND THE ENGLISH REVOLUTION. 1642-1648

The principal sources and bibliographies for the Thirty Years' War have been indicated under Chapters XVII and XIX. There are a number of biographies of Wallenstein of importance for the period, though unfortunately no adequate work in English. In German the principal books are those of RANKE, *Geschichte Wallensteins* (1872, 1910); and GINDELY, *Waldstein*, 2 vols., (1886). There are two English biographies of Gustavus Adolphus available, C. R. L. FLETCHER (1890) and T. A. DODGE (1896). In German, one of the principal biographies is that of G. DROYSEN, 2 vols., (1869-70). See, also, R. N. BAIN, *Scandinavia 1513-1900* (1905) for a brief account of Norway, Sweden, and Denmark, and F. F. CARLSSON, *Geschichte Schwedens*, tr. from the Swedish, (1855). In French, see E. CHARVÉRIAT, *Histoire de la Guerre de Trente Ans*, 2 vols., (1878), and for Austria, see F. KRONES' *Handbuch der*

Geschichte Oesterreichs (1877, etc.); E. DENIS' *Fin de l'Indépendance Bohême* (1890) and *La Bohéme depuis la Montagne-Blanche* (1903) are useful, as is H. PIRENNE, *Histoire de Belgique* (1911). See, also, the works of J. B. PERKINS, *Richelieu* (1900) and *France under Mazarin* (1886); and also G. AVENEL, *Richelieu et la Monarchie Absolue*, 4 vols., (1884-90). There is an older book of popular interest by E. CUST, *Lives of the Warriors of the Thirty Years' War*, 2 vols., (1865); and more recent lives of Bernard of Saxe-Weimar by A. THOMA (1904), of Bethlen Gabor by GINDELY (1890) and IGNÁE-ACSÁDY, *Gabriel Bethlen and his Court* (1890).

For the history of England in this period the standard work is that of S. R. GARDINER. For histories of Scotland, see J. H. BURTON (1873), P. H. BROWN (1905), and ANDREW LANG (1906). For the Grand Remonstrance, see the monographs by J. FORSTER (1860) and H. L. SCHOOLCRAFT (1902). G. M. TREVELYAN'S *England under the Stuarts* (1905) is an eminently readable but not a very scientific review of the period, excellent on the social and literary side. J. B. MOZLEY'S *Essays, Historical and Theological*, 2 vols., (1878), is good for the high church point of view, and J. G. PALFREY'S *History of New England* (1884) is still valuable for that part of the Puritan movement. C. H. SIMPKINSON, *Thomas Harrison, Regicide and Major-General* (1905) gives a good picture of the more advanced party, and the Stuart series of biographies published by Goupil Frères are beautifully illustrated works of much value historically as well as artistically. J. MORLEY'S *Life of Cromwell* (1900) is excellent on the philosophical side, and T. C. PEASE, *The Leveller Movement* (1916) is the best statement of the case for that group of radicals, as Miss LOUISE BROWN'S *Fifth Monarchists* is excellent for that faction.

The articles of the Peace of Westphalia, as of the treaties of the following period, are available in DUMONT and ROUSSEL DE MISSY'S *Corps Universel Diplomatique du Droit des Gens contenant un Recueil des Traitez* (1727); see also J. G. VON MEIERN'S *Acta Pacis Westphalicae Publica* (1734-36). For treaties relating to the territories now occupied by the United States, see F. G. DAVENPORT, *Treaties bearing on the History of the United States and its Dependencies to 1648* (Washington, 1917).

CHAPTER XXIII

THE AGE OF CROMWELL. 1642-1660

The best three biographies of Cromwell are those of MORLEY (see bibliography to preceding chapter), S. R. GARDINER (1899), and C. H. FIRTH. See, also, GARDINER'S *Cromwell's Place in History* (1897); and for an adverse view R. F. D. PALGRAVE'S *Oliver Cromwell, the Protector* (1890 and 1903). The best edition of his letters is MRS. S. C. LOMAS' ed. of CARLYLE'S *Letters and Speeches of Oliver Cromwell*, 3 vols., (1904). The most comprehensive work on Cromwell as a soldier is that of F. HÖNIG (1887) which should be compared with T. S. BALDOCK (1899); and the best account of his army is that of C. H. FIRTH, *Cromwell's Army* (1902). For the navy, see M. OPPENHEIM, *Administra-*

tion of the Royal Navy (1896). For Cromwell's foreign relations, see G. JONES, *Relations between Cromwell and Charles X of Sweden* (1897); BISCHOFSHAUSEN, *Die Politik des Protectors Oliver Cromwell*, etc., (1899); J. N. BOWMAN, *Protestant Interest in Cromwell's Foreign Relations* (1900); CARLSON, *Sverige och England* (1900); and G. L. BEER, *Cromwell's Policy in its Economic Aspects* (1902). See, also, *The Last Years of the Protectorate* by C. H. FIRTH (1909); and *Cromwell's Scotch Campaigns* by W. S. DOUGLAS (1898). The principal source for many of these subjects is J. THURLOE, *Collection of State Papers*, etc., 7 vols., (1702-03).

For the English Church during this period, see W. A. SHAW, *History of the English Church during the Civil Wars and under the Commonwealth*, 2 vols., (1900). The articles in the *Dictionary of National Biography* are especially good for biographical data.

For the insurrection of Masaniello, see A. G. MEISSNER'S and E. BOURG'S *Masaniello*. For Khmelnitzki, see R. N. BAIN, *The First Romanovs*, as quoted above. For the effect of Cromwell's policy oversea, see the volumes quoted in Chapter XVIII, and N. D. DAVIS, *The Cavaliers and Roundheads of Barbados* (1887). For the Anglo-Dutch war, see EDMUNDSON as above. For Ireland, see R. BAGWELL, *Ireland under the Stuarts and Commonwealth;* M. J. BONN, *Die Englische Kolonisation in Irland*, 2 vols., (1906); and A. BELLESHEIM, *Geschichte der Katholischen Kirche in Irland*, 3 vols., (1890-1901). The best brief account is the introduction to R. DUNLOP'S *Ireland under the Commonwealth* (1913)—a collection of documents.

There are two good books on the Netherlands in this period: J. GEDDES, *The Administration of John de Witt*, 1 vol., (all published), (1879), and A. LEFÈVRE PONTALIS, *Vingt Années de Republique Parlementaire au Dix-septième Siècle: Jean de Witt*, 2 vols., (1884), tr. STEPHENSON (1885). For naval affairs, see J. S. CORBETT, *England in the Mediterranean*, 2 vols., (1904), and his *Successors of Drake* (1900).

For general political progress, see G. P. GOOCH, *History of English Democratic Ideas in the 17th Century* (1889); C. BORGEAUD, *Rise of Modern Democracy in Old and New England*, tr., (1894); and L. H. BERENS, *The Digger Movement* (1906).

CHAPTER XXIV

EUROPE AT THE MIDDLE OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

For the development of the English colonies in North America, see the books referred to in the bibliography to Chapter XVIII. To these may be added MERENESS' *Maryland as a Proprietary Province* (1901); LATANÉ'S *Early Relations of Maryland and Virginia* (1895); and STEINER'S *The Beginnings of Maryland* (1903). See, also, G. PENN'S *Memorials of the Professional Life and Times of Sir W. Penn*, 2 vols., (1833), with the articles of C. H. FIRTH in the *English Historical Review* (1905 ff.) on Blake.

For New France, see PARKMAN'S works as quoted above and for New Netherlands, the bibliography to Chapter XVIII. For the exploration of the Northwest, see A. C. LAUT, *Conquest of the Great Northwest*

(1909); G. BRYCE, *Remarkable History of the Hudson's Bay Company* (1900); E. HEAWOOD, *History of Geographical Discovery in the 17th and 18th Centuries* (1912); and the bibliographies in the annual *Review of Historical Publications relating to Canada* issued by the University of Toronto.

For the history of Brazil, see bibliography to Chapter XVIII. To these may be added A. J. DE M. MORAES' *Brazil historico*, etc., (1866-67); F. A. VARNHAGEN, *Historia das Lutas com os Hollandezes no Brazil desde 1624-54* (1872) and his *Historia general do Brazil*, 2 vols., (1877). G. EDMUNDSON, *The Dutch in Western Guiana*, and *The Dutch on the Amazon and the Negro in the 17th Century* (*English Historical Review*, 1901-03). See, also, L. DOMINGUEZ, *Historia Argentina*, 4 ed., (1870), and RODWAY, *The West Indies and the Spanish Main* (1896). For the Dutch in the East, add to the bibliography of Chapter XVII, J. E. TENNANT, *Ceylon* (1860); H. ST. JOHN'S *The Indian Archipelago*, 2 vols., (1853); and G. M. THEALL, *History of South Africa*, 5 vols., (1888); with C. P. LUCAS, *Historical Geography of the British Colonies*, 2 ed., (1905 ff.).

For the history of art in the seventeenth century, see in addition to the general accounts, M. BELL, *Rembrandt van Rijn and his Work* (1899); A. ROSENBERG'S *Rembrandt* (1906) fully illustrated; BODE'S *Rembrandt u. seine Zeitgenossen;* PILKINGTON'S *Dictionary of Painters;* with the two series (German and English) of *Great Painters*, now in progress.

For morals, see LECKY, *History of Rationalism in Europe* (1865), now somewhat antiquated and never very interesting. For literature in general and Molière in particular, see E. DESPOIS and P. MESNARD'S introduction to Molière's works and the edition of his works in *Les Grandes Ecrivains de la France.* See, also, P. LACROIX, *Collection Molièresque* and H. C. CHATFIELD-TAYLOR, *Molière; A bibliography* (1907) for Molière literature. See, also, the works of SAINTE-BEUVE, SCHERER, and BRUNETIÈRE. For Pascal, see SAINTE-BEUVE'S *Port Royal* and E. BOUTROUX'S *Life* (1903). See, also, in general for this and following chapters, L. PETIT DE JULLEVILLE (ed.), *Histoire de la langue et de la littérature française* (1896-1900).

For English literature in this period, see the *Cambridge History of English Literature;* D. MASSON, *Life of Milton*, 6 vols., (1859-80); H. J. C. GRIERSON, *First Half of the 17th Century.* For Calderon and Spanish literature, see H. BREYMANN'S *Calderon Studien* (1905); E. MARTINENCHE'S *La Comédie Espagnole en France de Hardy à Racine* (1900) and F. PICATOSTE Y RODRIGUEZ'S *Biografia de Don Pedro Calderon*, etc., (1881).

For Hobbes, see especially the L. STEPHEN (1904) and C. G. ROBERTSON (1886) biographies. See, also, W. GRAHAM, *English Political Philosophy from Hobbes to Maine* (1899).

For the early history of newspapers, see FOX BOURNE, *History of Newspapers*, and especially J. B. WILLIAMS, *Early History of English Journalism* (1908).

For the history of science in the seventeenth century, besides the general works on the subject, see the *Record of the Royal Society* (1901); ELLIS, SPEDDING, and HEATH (eds.), *Collected Works of Bacon* (1870);

S. P. RIGAUD, *Correspondence of Scientific Men of the 17th Century* (1841); C. ADAM and P. TANNERY (eds.), *Descartes, Œuvres* (1897, etc.); PERTZ, GROTEFEND, and GERHARDT (eds.), *Leibniz, Gesammelte Werke* (1843, etc.); S. HORSLEY (ed.), *Newton, Opera* (1779-85); J. NAPIER, *Collected Works* (1839); Galileo's treatises, tr. H. CREW (1915).

For the biographies of the principal scientific men of the century, see SPEDDING'S *Bacon* (1861-74); HALDANE'S *Descartes* (1906); FAHIE'S *Galileo* (1903); BREITSCHWERT'S *Kepler* (1831); GUHRAUER'S *Leibniz* (1842-46); and SLOMAN'S *Leibniz*, Eng. tr., (1860); NAPIER'S *Napier* (1834); BREWSTER'S *Newton* (1855). There is a good brief bibliography of the subject in *Cambridge Modern History*, vol. v, p. 903 ff.

CHAPTER XXV

THE AGE OF LOUIS XIV. 1660-1678

For the reign of Louis XIV, its history, administration, foreign policy, and general relations, see O. AIRY'S little book *The English Restoration and Louis XIV* (1888); P. A. CHÉRUEL'S *La Politique Extérieure de Louis au début de son Gouvernement Personnel* (1890); S. DE GROVESTINS' *Guillaume III et Louis XIV*, 8 vols., (1868); O. KLOPP'S *Der Fall des Hauses Stuart*, etc., 14 vols., (1875-88); F. F. CARLSSON'S *Geschichte Schwedens* (1873-87); B. ERDMANNSDÖRFFER'S *Deutsche Geschichte . . . 1648-1740;* and especially LAVISSE, *Histoire de France*, as above (1901, etc), with the great series *Receuil des Instructions données aux Ambassadeurs et Ministres de France depuis les traités de Westphalie*, etc., (1884 ff.); and E. BOURGEOIS, *Manuel historique de politique étrangère* (1901-06), and his *Sources de l'histoire de France, 1610-1715*, continuing H. HAUSER, see above, Chapter IV.

For his administration proper, see especially P. A. CHÉRUEL, *Histoire de l'Administration Monarchique en France*, etc., 2 vols., (1855); Comte de LUCAY, *Les Secretaires d'Etat . . . jusqu' à la Mort de Louis XV* (1881); the various contributions of A. BABEAU; and the bibliography of Colbert in LAVISSE. See, also, J. H. BRIDGES' *France under Richelieu and Colbert* (1866); A. J. SARGENT'S *The Economic Policy of Colbert* (1899); RAMBAUD'S *Histoire de la Civilisation Française*, 2 vols., (1885); A. J. GRANT, *The French Monarchy, 1483-1789* (1900); and M. PHILIPPSON'S *Das Zeitalter Ludwigs XIV* (1879); also M. IMMICH'S *Geschichte des Europäischen Staatensystems, 1660-1789* (1903, etc.).

For the Restoration period in England, besides the general histories mentioned above, see O. AIRY, *Charles II* (1901); G. B. HERZ, *English Public Opinion after the Restoration* (1902); D. MASSON, *Life of Milton*, 6 vols., (1859-94). For the rise of English political parties, see TRENT, *Early History of the Tory Party;* G. W. COOKE, *History of Party*, 3 vols., (1836-37).

For English colonial policy, see J. R. SEELEY, *The Expansion of England* (1891), and his *Growth of English Policy* (1895); S. J. FUCHS, *Die Handelspolitik Englands u. seiner Kolonien* (1893); O. M. DICKERSON, *American Colonial Government, 1696-1765;* A. TODD, *Parliamentary*

Government in the British Colonies; and especially OSGOOD, *The American Colonies in the 17th Century,* 3 vols., (1904-07).

CHAPTER XXVI

EUROPE BEYOND THE SEA. 1660-1678.

For the activities of France in North America during this period, see the works of PARKMAN, and WINSOR, quoted above. For Colbert's policy, see P. CLÉMENT, *Histoire de Colbert et de son administration* (1874); E. RAMEAU, *Une colonie féodale en Amerique, L'Acadie* (1877); L. PAULLIAT, *Louis XIV et la Compagnie des Indes Orientales de 1664* (1886); S. MIMS, *Colbert and his West Indian Policy* (1914). See, also, KINGSFORD, *History of Canada,* 10 vols., (1887-98); and MILES, *History of Canada under the French Régime* (1872); with GAYARRE, *Louisiana under French Dominion,* 4 vols., new ed., (1904), and A. FORTIER, *History of Louisiana,* 6 vols., (1904).

For French explorers, see PARKMAN'S *La Salle* (1869); WINSOR, *From Cartier to Frontenac* (1894); R. G. THWAITES (ed.), *Jesuit Relations* (1896 ff.); PARKMAN, *Frontenac and New France under Louis XIV* (1877).

For Africa and the East, see G. M. THEAL, *History of South Africa under the Dutch East India Company,* 2 vols., (1897); W. W. HUNTER, *History of British India,* 2 vols., (1899-90); A. LYALL, *The British Dominion in India* (1906); G. B. MALLESON, *The French in India* (1893); see, also, G. BIRDWOOD, *Report on the Old Records of the India Office* (1891); and C. R. WILSON, *Early Annals of the English in Bengal,* 2 vols., (1895-1900).

CHAPTER XXVII

THE AGE OF WILLIAM III. 1678-1702

The chief source for the history of the house of Orange is GROEN VAN PRINSTERER, *Archives ou Correspondance inédite de la Maison d'Orange-Nassau,* 2e série, 5 vols., (1857-60); J. W. VAN SYPESTEIN, *Geschiedkundige Bijdragen en onuitgeven Stukken,* 3 vols., (1864-65); the Dumont collection as above; F. A. M. MIGNET, *Négociations relatives à la Succession d'Espagne,* 4 vols., 5 ed., (1885). See especially A. LEGRELLE, *La Diplomatie Française et la Succession d'Espagne,* 4 vols., (1888-92), and his *Notes et Documents sur la Paix de Ryswick* (1894).

For the English side, the best work is MACAULAY'S *History of England,* many editions. This may be checked by RANKE, *History of England chiefly in the 17th Century;* KLOPP, *Fall des Hauses Stuart.* as above, and BROSCH, *Geschichte von England* (1903). There are several sketches of the life of William III, the best being that in the *Dictionary of National Biography,* and the *Life* by H. D. TRAILL.

For the economic side, see A. ANDRÉADES, *Histoire de la Banque d'Angleterre* (1904); W. A. S. HEWINS, *English Trade and Finance in the 17th Century* (1892); J. E. T. ROGERS, *First nine years of the Bank of England* (1903); G. SCHMOLLER, *The Mercantile System,* etc.,

(tr. 1906); W. A. SHAW, *History of Currency* (1896); S. DOWELL, *History of Taxation* (1888).

For the military and naval side, see A. T. MAHAN, *Influence of Sea Power upon History, 1660-1783* (1889); C. E. CALLWELL, *Military Operations and Maritime Preponderance* (1905); J. W. FORTESCUE, *History of the British Army* (1899); W. F. LORD, *England and France in the Mediterranean* (1901); E. MACARTNEY-FILGATE, *The War of William III in Ireland* (1905); BAGWELL, *History of Ireland;* LEGRELLE, *Louis XIV et Strassbourg;* ROY, *Turenne;* GRIFFET, *Recueil de Lettres pour servir à l'Histoire Militaire de Louis XIV;* and SIRTEMA DE GROVESTINS, *Histoire des Luttes et Rivalités Politiques entre les Puissances Maritimes et la France durant la Seconde Moitié du xvii Siècle* (1855); MALLESON, *Eugene of Savoy.*

For the Peace of Ryswick and the Spanish negotiations, see also, A. GAEDEKE, *Die Politik Oesterreichs in der Spanischen Erbfolgefrage,* 2 vols., (1877). For the social side, see C. HUGON, *Social France in the 17th Century* (1911), and E. LEVASSEUR, *Histoire des classes ouvrières et de l'Industrie en France avant 1789* (1901).

For the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, see BAIRD, *Revocation of the Edict of Nantes* (1895); POOLE, *The Huguenots of the Dispersion;* SMILES, *Huguenots in France after the Dispersion.*

For the Revolution of 1688, see, beside MACAULAY, MACKINTOSH, *History of the Revolution in England in 1688* (1834); HALLAM, *Constitutional History of England* (1879); AGNEW, *Life of Henri de Ruvigny* (1864), and his *Exiles from France,* 2 vols., (1871).

For Austria and her relation to the other powers, see M. IMMICH, *Europäisches Staatensystem;* and KLOPP, *Der Fall des Hauses Stuart,* as above; H. VON SYBEL, *Prinz Eugen von Savoyen* (1889); F. VON KRONES, *Zur Geschichte Ungarns* (1894); W. COXE, *History of the House of Austria* (1798). For Poland, see P. DUPONT, *Mémoires pour servir à l'Histoire de Sobieski* (1885), and the general histories of Poland. H. E. MALDEN'S *Vienna 1683* (1883) is an account of the defeat of the Turks by Sobieski. A. F. PRIBRAM'S *Franz Paul, Freiherr von Lisola* (1894) contains a good sketch of the politics of this period. G. FINLAY'S *History of Greece 146 B.C. to 1864 A.D.* (1877), includes one volume on Greece under Turkish domination with a good popular account of Turkish activities at this time. There is an older work in the *Geschichte der Europäischen Staaten* by J. W. ZINKEISEN, namely, *Die Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches in Europa,* 7 vols. (1840-63).

For the buccaneers, see EXQUEMELING and HARING, as above; J. BURNEY, *Buccaneers* (1816); and for the South American states, see R. G. WATSON, *Spanish and Portuguese South America during the Colonial Period* (1884); J. PFOTENHAUER, *Die Missionen der Jesuiten in Paraguay* (1891-93); and the various essays in WINSOR, *Narrative and Critical History.*

For the English colonial policy, see H. E. EGERTON, *History of Colonial Policy* (1898); A. SMITH, *Wealth of Nations,* ed., ROGERS (1865), and the works quoted under Chapter XVIII; see, also, the writings of G. L. BEER, quoted in bibliographies to Chapter XXIII above and Chapter XXXV below.

For the history of New England, see PALFREY, *History of New Eng-*

land (1859-90). For the East India Company, see the bibliography of Chapter XII; MAINWARING, *Crown and Company* (1911); and PAPILLON, *Memoir of Thomas Papillon* (1887).

For Paterson see J. S. BARBOUR, *A History of William Paterson and the Darien Company* (1907); and S. BANNISTER, *Life of W. Paterson*, 3 vols., (1859); and for the Bank of England, see the bibliography of Chapter XXVII. For insurance, see MARTIN, *History of Lloyd's* (1876).

CHAPTER XXVIII

EUROPE AT THE END OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

For the development of French literature, see the bibliography of Chapter XXIV; H. TAINE, *La Fontaine et ses Fables*, 14 ed., (1898); E. FAGUET, *Etudes Littéraires: Dix-septième Siècle*, 10 ed., (1892); É. PICOT, *Bibliographie Cornélienne* (1876); and the works of F. BRUNETIÈRE and C. A. SAINTE-BEUVE, who have treated most of the subjects here touched upon in separate essays and monographs, chiefly critical. For England, see A. BELJAME, *Le public et les Hommes de Lettres en Angleterre, 1660-1714*; E. GOSSE, *Seventeenth Century Studies*, 3 ed., (1898); A. W. WARD, *History of Dramatic Literature to the Death of Queen Anne*, 3 vols., (1899). For Milton, see MASSON'S *Life* as quoted above.

For medicine, see in addition to the general histories, J. F. PAYNE'S *Life of Sydenham* (1900) and the *Life* by PICARD (1889). For chemistry, T. E. THORPE'S *Essays in Historical Chemistry* (1902). For military science, see T. A. DODGE'S *Gustavus Adolphus*, 2 vols., (1896); Viscount WOLSELEY'S *Marlborough* (1894); J. ROY'S *Turenne* (1884); C. F. M. ROUSSET'S *Louvois* (1862-68); and G. MICHEL'S *Vauban* (1878); CAMPORI'S *Montecuccoli* (1876); and for Prince Eugene, the biographies by v. ARNETH, 3 vols., 2 ed., (1864), and v. SYBEL (1868); with the biographies of Cromwell quoted in Chapter XXIII. For mathematics and astronomy, see NEWTON and LEIBNITZ as below. For Boyle, see the old work of BIRCH (1744), the essays by RAMSAY and by THORPE as above, Chapter XXI. The works of HUYGHENS are now in the process of publication. Halley lacks a biographer.

For Spinoza, see F. POLLOCK, *Spinoza, His Life and Philosophy* (1880); MARTINEAU, *Study of Spinoza* (1882); and J. CAIRD, *Spinoza* (1888); with the studies of *Spinoza's Ethics* by JOACHIM (1901) and DUFF (1903). For Newton, see S. P. RIGAUD, as above. G. J. GRAY, *Bibliography of Newton's Writings* (1880); A. DE MORGAN, *Life of Newton* (1885); and the older book of D. BREWSTER on *Newton's Life, Writings and Discoveries* (1855). For Leibnitz, see the biographies by BRAIG (1907), the exhaustive work of GUHRAUER (1842), and its English adaptation by MACKIE (1845). For his philosophy, see FISCHER, *Leibniz* (1889); E. CASSIRER, *Leibniz System*, etc., (1902); KABITZ (1909), and RUSSELL (1900) on his system.

For Pufendorf, see the contributions of TREITSCHKE, BLUNTSCHLI, and ROSCHER, and the article in the *Allegemeine Deutsche Biographie*. For Locke, see FOWLER (1880); FRAZER (1890); and especially H. R. FOX-BOURNE'S *Life* (1876).

For clubs and club life, see J. TIMB'S volumes on that subject (1866) and (1872). For economic writing and thought, see PALGRAVE'S *Dictionary of Political Economy* as quoted above; S. BUXTON'S *Finance and Politics* (1888); C. DUGUID'S *History of the Stock Exchange* (1901).

CHAPTER XXIX

THE WAR OF THE SPANISH SUCCESSION AND THE REORGANIZATION OF EUROPE. 1700-1720

For the English side of the War of the Spanish Succession, see STANHOPE'S *History of England in the Reign of Queen Anne* (1870) and his *History of the War of the Succession in Spain* (1832). For the French side, see especially LAVISSE, *Histoire de France*, as above. For Austria, see A. GAEDEKE, *Die Politik Oesterreichs in der Spanischen Erbfolgefrage* (1877). For Holland, see BLOK, *History of the People of the Netherlands*. For the war in Spain, see the biographies of Peterborough by F. RUSSELL (1887), and W. STEBBING; and the bibliography of the preceding chapter. See, also, MALLESON, *Prince Eugene of Savoy* (1888) and WILSON, *The Duke of Berwick*. For the Peace of Utrecht see the works on that subject by C. GIRAUD (1847), GERARD, and WEBER.

For the Northern War, see R. N. BAIN, *Charles XII and the Collapse of the Swedish Empire* (1895); OSCAR II, King of Sweden, *Charles XII*, Eng. tr. by APGEORGE (1879); VOLTAIRE, *Charles XII;* HOLLAND, *The Treaty Relations of Russia and Turkey*. For the Prussian side of the war, see TUTTLE, *History of Prussia;* for the Russian, E. SCHUYLER, *Peter the Great* (1884); R. N. BAIN, *The first Romanovs* (1905) and *The Pupils of Peter the Great* (1897); K. WALISZEWSKI, *Pierre le Grand* (1897)—also in English.

For colonial affairs, see, in addition to the works quoted in the bibliographies of Chapters XVIII, XXIV, and XXVI, P. EDGAR, *The Struggle for a Continent* (1902).

CHAPTER XXX

IMPERIAL EUROPE. 1720-1742

For Spain in this period, see E. ARMSTRONG, *Elizabeth Farnese* (1892); P. BLIARD, *Dubois* (1901); for England, A. W. WARD, *The Electress Sophia and the Hanoverian Succession*, 2 ed., (1909); STANHOPE (Lord Mahon), *The History of England . . . 1713-83*, in many editions; W. MICHAEL, *Geschichte Englands;* E. S. ROSCOE, *Harley* (1902); the biographies of Walpole by J. MORLEY (1889) and A. C. EWALD (1878); W. COXE, *Memoirs of the Kings of Spain of the House of Bourbon 1813-15;* H. CARRÉ, *La France sous Louis XV* (1891); J. B. PERKINS, *France under the Regency* (1892); and E. BOURGEOIS, *Alberoni, Madame des Ursins et la Reine Elisabeth Farnese* (1891), are useful and generally interesting books on this period. See, also, bibliography of Chapter XXVIII.

For India, see E. S. HOLDEN, *The Mogul Emperors of Hindustan* (1895); J. G. DUFF, *A History of the Mahrattas*, 3 vols., (1826); H. G. KEENE, *The Moghul Empire* (1866) and *The Fall of the Moghul Empire* (1876); S. J. OWEN, *India on the Eve of the British Conquest* (1872); and S. L. POOLE, *Aurangzib* (1896).

For the North American colonies, see especially E. CHANNING, *History of the United States* (1910, etc.,) the best scholarly account of this period, superseding BANCROFT. See, also, W. E. H. LECKY, *History of England in the 18th Century* (1878-90) and the bibliographies in the *American Nation* series. J. FISKE, *New France and New England* (1902); *Colonization of the New World* and *Independence of the New World;* PARKMAN, *A Half Century of Conflict* (1892); and F. X. GARNEAU, *Histoire de Canada*, 5 ed., (1913). For the Darien Company, see Paterson, as above. For the history of Uruguay, see the volume published under that title, Liverpool, 1897. For Mexico, see H. H. BANCROFT, as above; A. VON HUMBOLDT, *Essay on New Spain;* N. LEON, *Compendio de la historia general de Mexico* (1902). See, also, the brief and popular sketches by Nutt, which are, however, very scanty on this period.

For Louisiana, see FORTIER and GAYARRÉ as above, and the popular book of G. KING on *New Orleans* (1895). For John Law and his ventures, see A. THIERS' *Law et son Système de Finances* (tr., 1859); and A. M. DAVIS, *Law's System* (1887); also A. W. WINSTON-GLYNN, *John Law of Lauriston* (1908). See, also, BONNASIEUX, *Les Grandes Compagnies*, as above.

For the explorers, see HEAWOOD, *Geographical Discovery in the 17th and 18th Centuries.* For the reorganization of the Spanish colonial empire and the effect of the accession of the Bourbons, see R. ALTAMIRA Y CREVEA, *Historia de España* (1909); M. A. COURCY, *L'Espagne après la Paix d'Utrecht* (1891); and G. SCELLE, *La Traité Negrière aux Indes de Castille* (1906, etc.).

For the War of the Polish Succession, see R. N. BAIN, *The Pupils of Peter the Great* (1897); and the histories of England, France, and Russia; and for the Anglo-Spanish War, see the history of Spain and those of England and the colonies, as quoted above. For the biography of Anson, see J. BARROW'S *Life* (1839).

CHAPTER XXXI

RELIGION, INTELLECT, AND INDUSTRY. 1700-1750

For the development of French art in the eighteenth century, see the biographies of Watteau by P. MANTZ (1892), G. DARGENTY (1891), and PHILLIPS (1895-1905), and in particular, the study by C. MAUCLAIR (1905) and P. G. HAMERTON'S volumes on painting. For the Jansenists, see SAINTE-BEUVE, *Port Royal*, 7 vols., 5 ed., (1888-91) and C. BEARD, *Port Royal* (1861). See, also, REBELLIAU, *Bossuet* (1900); MRS. S. LEAR, *Bossuet* (1874), and a Bossuet bibliography by C. URBAIN (1900). For Boileau and the literature of his time, see the writings of SAINTE-BEUVE and BRUNETIÈRE; for Pope, see J. W. CROKER (introduction, notes, and life by ELWIN and COURTHOPE), *Works with Life,*

etc., 10 vols., (1871-98). For the Moravians see HUTTON, *History of the Moravian Church* (1909). For the Methodists, see TOWNSEND, WORKMAN, and EAYRS, *New History of Methodism* (1909). For the Wesleys, see G. J. STEVENSON, *Memorials of the Wesley Family* (1876), and JOHN WESLEY'S *Journal*, ed., CURNOCK (1909-13). See, also, R. A. VAUGHAN, *Hours with the Mystics*, 2 vols., 7 ed., (1895); and S. RITSCHL, *Geschichte des Pietismus* (1880-1906); J. H. OVERTON, *William Law* (1881); and R. M. JONES, *The Spiritual Reformers*.

For Voltaire, see the bibliography by G. BENGESCO, 4 vols., (1882-90); the essay by T. CARLYLE in his works; the essay by J. MORLEY (1872); and the *Life* by J. PARTON (1881). For Swift, Addison, and Steele, see their biographies, especially in the *English Men of Letters* series. For the progress of scholarship, see SANDYS as above; A. MAU, *Pompeii*, tr. by F. W. KELSEY, 2 ed., (1902); and FUETER, *Geschichte der neueren Historiographie* (1911); also in French translation revised.

CHAPTER XXXII

THE AGE OF FREDERICK THE GREAT. 1742-1763

For the development of Brandenburg-Prussia, see L. VON RANKE, *Zwölf Bücher Preussischer Geschichte* (1878-79) and E. LAVISSE, *Études sur l'Histoire de Prusse* (1879) and *La Jeunesse du Grand Frédéric*. The most exhaustive *Life of Frederick the Great* in English is that by T. CARLYLE, many editions. See, also, H. TUTTLE, *History of Prussia 1740-56* (1888); LECKY, *History of England in the 18th Century* (1878); MAHON, *History of England 1713-1783* (1858); A. ARNETH, *Maria Theresa* (1868-75); A. W. WARD, *England and Hanover* (1899); R. KOSER, *Friedrich der Grosse* (1905). See, also, A. BACHMAN, *Die Pragmatische Sanction*, etc. (1894). For the French side see Comte de PAJOL, *Les Guerres sous Louis XV* (1881-87). There is a good brief sketch of this subject by MARRIOTT and ROBERTSON, *The Rise of Prussia* (1916).

These works cover in the main the general history of the Wars of the Austrian Succession as well.

For the colonies and India, see the bibliographies of the preceding chapters. For the Seven Years' War, R. WADDINGTON, *La Guerre de Sept Ans* (1899-1907). See, also, his *Louis XV et le Renversement des Alliances* (1896), for the Diplomatic Revolution. See, also, for the English side, J. CORBETT, *England in the Seven Years' War* (1908), and L. RANKIN, *The Marquis d'Argenson* (1901).

For Pitt, see the biographies by GREEN (1902); RUVILLE, Eng. tr., (1905); and B. WILLIAMS (1913).

CHAPTER XXXIII

THE AGE OF VOLTAIRE AND THE PHILOSOPHERS

For the general subject of the rise of liberal thought, see F. ROCQUAIN, *L'Esprit Révolutionnaire avant la Révolution*, Eng. tr., (1878). For Voltaire and Rousseau, see J. MORLEY'S *Essays*. For a bibliography

of Montesquieu, see L. DANGEAU (1874); for his *Life*, see L. VIAN (1879) and A. SOREL. For Voltaire, see bibliography of Chapter XXXI. For Rousseau, see the latest attempt to rehabilitate him by Mrs. F. MACDONALD (1906); and for Diderot, see MORLEY'S *Essay*, and the accounts of him by SCHERER, FAGUET, and BRUNETIÈRE. For Buffon, see HUMBERT BAZILE, *Buffon, sa Famille*, etc., (1863). For the Physiocrats, see H. HIGGS, *The Physiocrats* (1897).

For china manufacture see BURTON, *Porcelain* (1906); and the bibliography in the Crerar Library *List of Books on the History of Industry*, etc., (1915). For the Agricultural Revolution, see TRAILL'S *Social England* as above and the bibliography there. See, also, R. E. PROTHERO'S *Pioneers and Progress of English Farming* (1888), and J. E. T. ROGERS' *History of Agriculture and Prices in England* (1866-1892). For exploration, see WINSOR and HEAWOOD as above. For the American colonies, see books noted in bibliography of Chapter XXX, and earlier. J. S. BASSETT, *Short History of the United States* (1913) has a good brief account of this period with book-list. See, also, A. L. CROSS, *History of England*, etc., (1914). See especially C. L. BECKER, *The American Colonies* (1915) for a general survey of colonial conditions before the Revolution. G. O. TREVELYAN, *American Revolution* (1899-1912) contains much interesting material for the colonies as well as for England.

For Berkeley, see L. STEPHEN, *English Thought in the 18th Century*, 3 ed., (1902); and A. C. FRASER'S edition of *Berkeley's Works, including a Biography*, 4 vols., (1901). For Edwards, see A. V. G. ALLEN, *Jonathan Edwards* (1889).

CHAPTER XXXIV

THE EUROPEAN EMPIRE

For the enlightened despots, see A. SOREL, *L'Europe et la Révolution française*, vol. i, (1885); and the antiquated, unscholarly, but still interesting work of F. C. SCHLOSSER, *History of Europe in the 18th Century*, Eng. tr., (1843-52); and especially A. H. JOHNSON, *The Age of the Enlightened Despots* (1910).

For the partition of Poland, see A. SOREL, *La Question d'Orient au XVIIIième Siècle*, 3 ed., (1902). For Poland in the eighteenth century, see introduction to R. H. LORD, *The Second Partition of Poland*.

For the suppression of the Jesuits, see J. A. M. CRETINEAU-JOLY, *Clement XIV et les Jésuites* (1847), and his *Histoire . . . de la Compagnie de Jésus*, 6 vols., (1844). See, also, SAINT-PRIEST, *Histoire de la chute des Jésuites* (1844). For Pombal, see J. SMITH'S *Memoirs of the Marquess of Pombal*, 2 vols., (1843); J. P. OLIVEIRA MARTINS' *Historia de Portugal*, 2 vols., (1901). For Paoli, see J. BOSWELL'S contemporary account (1768), and BARTOLI'S *Biography* (1891). For Choiseul, see F. CALMETTE, *Mémoires de Duc de Choiseul* (1904). For Spain and Portugal and their colonies, see F. ROUSSEAU, *Règne de Charles III d'Espagne*, 2 vols., (1907); Lafuente, as above; P. R. M. GALANTI, *Historia do Brazil*, 4 vols., (1905); R. SOUTHEY, *History of Brazil* (1810).

For the situation of Great Britain and the colonies, see the various references in bibliography of the preceding chapters.

CHAPTER XXXV

THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION. 1768-1783

For the American Revolution in general, see the bibliographies of the preceding chapters. See, also, for England's colonial policy, G. L. BEER, *Commercial Policy of England towards the American Colonies* (1893), his *Old Colonial System*, 2 vols., (1912), and especially his *British Colonial Policy, 1754-1765* (1907). The writings of the American leaders have all been edited and published in critical editions, and their lives have often been written. Of the latter the most accessible volumes are those in the *American Statesmen* series. See, also, the histories of England by MAHON and LECKY; the biographies of Pitt as quoted above; the *Life of North* by R. LUCAS (1913); and the biographies of Fox and Burke.

For the Revolution itself the best scholarly account is that of E. CHANNING in vol. iii of his *History of the United States;* the most entertaining is that of G. O. TREVELYAN, as above; the best account from another point of view, that of the loyalists, is that of S. G. FISHER, *The Struggle for American Independence*, 2 vols., (1908). See, also, M. C. TYLER, *Literary History of the American Revolution*, 2 vols., (1897); and HUNT, *The Provincial Committees of Safety of the American Revolution* (1904).

CHAPTER XXXVI

THE EUROPEAN REVOLUTION. 1768-1789

For the development of pastel and water-color painting in the eighteenth century, see "K. ROBERT," *Le Pastel* (1890) and W. L. WYLIE, *J. M. W. Turner* (1905). For furniture, see P. MACQUOID, *English Furniture* (1905), and Lady DILKE'S *French Furniture of the 18th Century.*

For German literature in this period, see the Brockhaus series, *Bibliothek der Deutschen National-literatur des 18 u. 19 Jahrhunderts*, 44 vols., (1868-91); J. SCHMIDT, *Geschichte der deutschen Literatur von Leibniz bis auf unsere Zeit*, 4 vols., 2 ed., (1886-90). For Schiller, see T. CARLYLE, *Life of Schiller*, many editions; for Goethe, see A. BIELSCHOWSKY'S *Biography* (tr., 1905, etc.), and H. G. ATKINS' volume (1904). The chief collection is the "Weimar Edition" now nearly completed. For Kant, see the bibliographies by ADICKES (1892, etc.), and REICKE (1895). See, also, C. VORLANDER'S *Kant, Schiller, Goethe* (1907); and A. WEIR, *Student's Introduction to Critical Philosophy* (1906).

For French literature, see SAINTE-BEUVE and BRUNETIÈRE as above. For English literature, see the *Cambridge History of English Literature* and its bibliographies. For Gibbon, see his autobiography, many editions; S. WALPOLE, *Works*, and W. BAGEHOT, *Works*, for essays; and

the edition of the *History* by J. B. BURY (1896-1900). For Adam Smith, see J. RAE, *Life of Adam Smith* (1895) and the various editions of the *Wealth of Nations*. For Bentham, see L. STEPHENS, *The English Utilitarians* (1900) and C. M. ATKINSON, *Jeremy Bentham* (1905). For the Industrial Revolution, see A. TOYNBEE, *The Industrial Revolution* (in several editions); HAMMOND, *The Town Laborer* (1917); the histories of the cotton manufacture in England, by BAINES (1835) and URE; S. SMILES, *Lives of the Engineers* (1861-62). W. CUNNINGHAM, *Growth of English Industry and Commerce* (1903). For Watt, and the steam engine, see J. P. MUIRHEAD, *Origin and Progress of the Mechanical Inventions of James Watt*, 3 vols., (1854), and his *Life of Watt* (1858).

For the early history of Australia see E JENKS' *Australasia* and A. KITSON'S *Captain James Cook* (1907).

For Joseph II, see the works of A. ARNETH; and T. F. BRIGHT, *Joseph II* (1897). For Catherine II, see K. WALISZEWSKI, *Le Roman d'une Impératrice* (1893); for Frederick II, see R. KOSER, *König Friedrich der Grosse*, 3 ed., (1905).

For the United States, see the various histories of SCHOULER, CHANNING, BASSETT, etc. For the formation of the Constitution, see ELLIOT, *Debates* (1836), revised and enlarged by M. FARRAND (1911); C. BEARD, *Economic Basis of the Constitution* (1914). See, also, the *Writings of Madison*, ed., HUNT; BRYCE, *American Commonwealth* (1911); JAMESON, *Studies in the History of the Federal Convention*, in *American Historical Association Reports* (1902); the biographies of the American statesmen; J. FISKE, *Critical Period* (1888).

For the beginning of the French Revolution, see ROCQUAIN as above; LOWELL, *Eve of the French Revolution;* the brief survey of the early years, by S. MATHEWS (1912); the excellent volumes of H. MORSE STEPHENS, *The French Revolution* (1886-91); A. AULARD, *History of the French Revolution*, Eng. tr., B. MIALL (1910)—especially good for the revolutionary spirit and the rise of the idea of liberty; and the older, brilliant, but now somewhat discredited, volumes of H. A. TAINE, *The Ancient Régime* and *The French Revolution*, Eng. tr., several editions. The most recent popular history of the Revolution is that of L. MADELIN. The bibliographies in the *Cambridge Modern History*, and those in LAVISSE, will serve as a general introduction. There is also a printed catalogue of the works on that subject in the Cornell University Library; and a brief survey of the source literature, by G. F. BARWICK, in the *Historians' History of the World*, vol. xii. See, also, Lord ACTON'S *Lectures on the French Revolution* for interesting side-lights on the subject; and P. CARON, *Manuel de la Révolution française* (1912) for an introduction to the sources.

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